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RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study of Rural Life*

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NUMBER 2

Rural Society in Production of Workers and Soldiers,

Warren S. Thompson

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University of North Carolina

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CONTENTS

<i>The Role of Rural Society in the Production of Workers and Soldiers.</i> By Warren S. Thompson.....	127
<i>Rural Public Assistance and National Defense.</i> By Josephine C. Brown	133
<i>Boom Migration: Incidence and Aftermath.</i> By Robert T. McMillan	145
<i>The Farm Security Administration and Its Attack on Rural Poverty.</i> By Joe J. King.....	155
<i>Correlates of Stage of Family Development among Farm Families on Relief.</i> By Gordon W. Blackwell.....	161
<i>Patterns of Crime in a Rural South Dakota County.</i> By John Useem and Marie Waldner.....	175
<i>Farmers' Attitudes to Farm Programs.</i> By David Ross Jenkins ..	185
<i>Some Cultural Factors Related to Occupational Mobility among Wisconsin Farmers.</i> By George W. Hill and Harold T. Christensen	193
<i>Notes.</i> Edited by Paul H. Landis.....	200
<i>What Is the Nature of the General Course in Rural Sociology?</i> By Charles R. Hoffer.....	200
<i>Agricultural Extension Publicity in Eleven Northeastern Indiana Counties.</i> By L. M. Busche and H. S. Heckard.....	206
<i>Factors Contributing to the Dependency of Rural Old People.</i> By Judson T. Landis.....	208
<i>Rural Churches and the War.</i> By Thomas Alfred Tripp.....	210
<i>Current Bulletin Reviews.</i> Edited by Conrad Taeuber	212
<i>Book Reviews.</i> Edited by Nathan L. Whetten and Reed H. Bradford	221
<i>Herring, Good Neighbors: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Seventeen Other Countries.</i> By T. Lynn Smith.....	221
<i>Beals, Pan America.</i> By T. Lynn Smith.....	221
<i>Zweig, Brazil, Land of the Future.</i> By T. Lynn Smith.....	221

Wilson, <i>Central America, Challenge and Opportunity</i> . By T. Lynn Smith	221
Gunther, <i>Inside Latin America</i> . By N. L. Whetten	222
Henius, <i>The ABC of Latin America</i> . By N. L. Whetten	222
Trend, <i>South America</i> . By N. L. Whetten	222
Kline and Steinbeck, <i>The Forgotten Village</i> . By N. L. Whetten	222
Bidwell, <i>Economic Defense of Latin America</i> . By N. L. Whetten	222
Schultz and Witt, <i>Training and Recruiting of Personnel in the Rural Social Sciences</i> . By Wilson Gee	224
Clarkson and Cochran, <i>War As a Social Institution</i> . By Maurice R. Davie	224
Sorokin, <i>The Crisis of Our Age</i> . By Carl S. Joslyn	225
Warner and Lunt, <i>The Social Life of a Modern Community</i> . By Charles P. Loomis	226
Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, <i>Deep South—A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class</i> . By Charles P. Loomis	226
Turner, <i>Case Studies of Consumers' Cooperatives</i> . By Luella M. DuWors	227
Schmiedeler, <i>Cooperation: A Christian Mode of Industry</i> . By John Useem	228
Goodwin, <i>The Social Organization of the Western Apache</i> . By Edwin G. Burrows	228
Abbott, <i>From Relief to Social Security</i> . By Lowry Nelson	229
Social Security Board, <i>Statistics of Family Composition in Selected Areas of the United States</i> . By Henry G. Stetler	229
Kotinsky, <i>Elementary Education of Adults</i> . By Edmund deS. Brunner	229
Creese, <i>The Extension of University Teaching</i> . By Edmund deS. Brunner	229
Edwards, <i>Education in a Democracy</i> . By Edmund deS. Brunner	229
Alley and Hall, <i>The Farmer in New Zealand</i> . By Edmund deS. Brunner	229
Abernathy, <i>Three Virginia Frontiers</i> . By Walter C. McKain, Jr.	230
Nichols and Randall, <i>Democracy in the Middle West 1840-1940</i> . By Walter C. McKain, Jr.	230
Murray, <i>Agricultural Finance—Principles and Practice of Farm Credit</i> . By Marc C. Leager	231
Mangam, <i>The Clarks—An American Phenomenon</i> . By Leo A. Haak	232
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i> . Edited by Robert A. Polson	233

The Role of Rural Society In the Production of Workers and Soldiers

By Warren S. Thompson*

ABSTRACT

The role of rural society in providing the nation with soldiers and workers is not adequately measured by the number of persons going directly from rural communities into these tasks. A considerable proportion of the young people reared in rural communities have already gone to the city by the time they are called to the army or begin to work in the factory.

Because of the declining birth rate and the stationary rural-farm population this group will in the future contribute a smaller proportion of soldiers and workers to the nation than in the recent past in spite of the fact that its birth rate remains considerably higher than that of the urban population.

The very large deficiency in the number of children needed to maintain the population of the larger cities becomes of increasing national importance as the rural-farm population becomes a smaller and smaller part of the whole and as the number of children in the rural-nonfarm population falls toward the maintenance level. The excess of children in the rural-farm population cannot long make up the deficit in the child group in the urban population.

Because of the declining proportion of farm population and the declining birth rate, we shall also have a smaller total of soldiers and workers in the prime of life twenty-five years hence than we now have.

El papel de la sociedad rural en proveer la nación con soldados y trabajadores no se discierne muy bien juzgando por el número de personas que van directamente de las comunidades rurales a estas tareas. Una gran proporción de los jóvenes criado sen comunidades rurales ha pasado ya a la ciudad cuando son llamados a servir en el ejército o a trabajar en fábricas.

A causa del descenso en la natalidad y del estacionamiento de la población rural agrícola, este grupo contribuirá en el futuro una proporción menor de soldados y de trabajadores a la nación de la que ha contribuido hasta la fecha, a pesar de que su natalidad es mucho más alta que la de la población urbana.

La grandísima falta de niños que se necesitan para mantener la población de las más grandes ciudades se convierte en un problema nacional de gran importancia en vista de que la población rural agrícola disminuye más y más como parte del todo, y en vista de que la cantidad de niños de la población rural no-agrícola baja a mantener el nivel presente. El exceso de niños en la población rural agrícola compensa el déficit en el grupo infantil de la población urbana.

A causa de la disminución en la proporción de la población rural y de la disminución en la natalidad tendremos también un porcentaje menor de soldados y trabajadores en la edad más activa dentro de veinticinco años del que tenemos ahora.

In the past, because a small proportion of people lived in urban communities, armies, as distinguished from small groups of nobles or professional soldiers, were necessarily made up of peasants. Moreover, when armies travelled almost entirely "on

their bellies," the greater part of essential military production also came from the peasants. In recent years, however, with the growth of urban populations, with the increasing importance of material and equipment, and with universal-service armies, the urban population supplies soldiers and workers in increasing propor-

* Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems.

tions. Thus it is of growing importance to know both the present and the probable future contributions of different groups in our population to the labor force and the military force of the nation.

Some general notion of these different contributions can be secured by examining our 1940 population data and by relating them to the differentials in birth rates which have been developing for some decades. The data which follow are chosen with the intent of giving a birds-eye view of the proportions which urban and rural communities (particularly the latter) are contributing, and may be expected to contribute, to manpower of the nation.

To illustrate this point there were 3,763,000 males 10 to 19 years old in the rural-farm population of 1930. In 1940 the census found only 2,475,000 males 20 to 29 in the rural-

farm population. After allowance is made for the deaths which would occur by 1940 in the 10 to 19 group of 1930 there were 1,170,000 fewer males in this group than would have been expected if there had been no movement from farm to nonfarm areas, that is, 32.1 per cent of the farm boys 10 to 19 in 1930, and who would be of the most desirable military age in 1940 would be called to the army from nonfarm areas. In other words whereas with no migration from the farm we would have found 31.7 per cent of all males aged 20 to 29 in 1940 in the farm population we actually found only 22.2 per cent in this group. Thus it is clear that the actual contribution of the farm population to the army ages is only about two-thirds of what it would have been without migration. On the other hand, according to census count, the contribution of the

TABLE 1. CENSUS POPULATION AGED 20 TO 29 IN 1940 COMPARED WITH POPULATION OF SAME AGE ESTIMATED FROM 1930 CENSUS POPULATION AGED 10 TO 19,
URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, UNITED STATES
(Thousands)

Area	1930 Census population		1940 estimated population		1940 Census population		Difference between actual and estimated	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Number	Per Cent
Urban	5,851	6,114	5,691	5,971	6,365	7,116	673	1,146
Rural—nonfarm	2,212	2,218	2,150	2,164	2,293	2,326	144	161
Rural—farm	3,763	3,399	3,646	3,305	2,475	2,092	-1,170	-1,213

TABLE 2. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CENSUS POPULATION AGED 20 TO 29 IN 1940 AND POPULATION OF SAME AGE ESTIMATED FROM 1930 CENSUS POPULATION AGED 10 TO 19, RURAL-FARM, GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS, 1940
(Thousands)

Divisions	Number		Per Cent	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
New England	-10	-14	-10	-31
Middle Atlantic	-46	-58	-24	-35
East North Central	-143	-161	-28	-36
West North Central	-186	-208	-32	-40
South Atlantic	-281	-268	-36	-38
East South Central	-210	-186	-33	-32
West South Central	-244	-246	-37	-40
Mountain	-38	-45	-29	-38
Pacific	-12	-26	-10	-26

nonfarm population is about 10 per cent greater than it would have been without migration, perhaps 13 or 14 per cent greater in actuality, because of the under-enumeration of males at ages 20 to 29, most of whom probably belonged to the nonfarm population.

This movement of males 10 to 19 in 1930 off the farms during the decade 1930 to 1940 differed considerably from one part of the country to another. On the Pacific coast there were only 10 per cent fewer men 20 to 29 on the farms than would have been expected if none had left. On the other hand, the Southern States as a whole lost over one-third of their males of this age, the greatest loss (37.0 per cent) being in the West South Central States two of which also contain part of the "dust bowl." The loss was almost as great (32.2 per cent) in the other group of states (West North Central) containing the remainder of the "dust bowl" but was only about three-fourths as high in

the industrialized areas of the Northeast.

In large outline this is the picture at a given moment, *viz.*, at the time the 1940 census was taken. But even this understates the total cityward movement of males 10 to 19 for it shows this movement during a decade only and by 1930 some of the farm youth under 20 had already left home. It is also clear from the age data in 1940 that the rural-farm population will continue to furnish more than its proportionate share of youth of military age for the next two decades. This is confirmed when the reproduction rates for the rural-farm, the rural-nonfarm and urban populations and for certain selected urban groups are studied. Thus in 1940 the reproduction rate for the entire urban population was 74 (100 is needed to maintain a stationary population), that is, at current birth rates and death rates there were only 74 per cent enough girls to replace the present urban female population when it had at-

TABLE 3. NET REPRODUCTION RATES FOR U. S., 1940 AND 1930, AND REPLACEMENT INDEXES FOR CERTAIN CITIES, 1940

United States	Net Reproduction Rates		Selected Cities	Replacement Indexes * 1940
	1940	1930		
Total	96	111	Total 14 cities (white)	65
White	94	111	New York	62
Nonwhite	107	110	Chicago	66
Urban	74	88	Philadelphia	70
White	74	90	Detroit	79
Nonwhite	74	75	Los Angeles	61
Rural—nonfarm	114	132	Cleveland	67
White	114	133	Baltimore	68
Nonwhite	114	119	St. Louis	62
Rural—farm	144	159	Boston	72
White	140	159	Pittsburgh	77
Nonwhite	160	156	Washington	54
			San Francisco	51
			Milwaukee	76
			Buffalo	74

* Not Standardized.

tained the age composition of a life table population, while the rate for the rural-nonfarm population was 114 and for the rural-farm 144. The most interesting point here is that whereas in the native white population there was a narrowing of the differential in replacement indexes between the rural-farm and the urban population in the decade 1920 to 1930, there was an increase of this differential in the white population from 1930 to 1940. It is not a large increase (about 10 per cent) but enough to make it appear likely that the rural-farm population will continue to have about twice the replacement rate of the urban population for the next two or three decades and will consequently continue to provide a disproportionately large share of the nation's young men and women.

These differentials appear even more significant when replacement indexes are calculated for the larger cities. Of the 14 cities having over 500,000 population in 1940 only three had a replacement index for the

white population above the average for the urban white population of the United States (74) while the index for all of them collectively was only 64.8, or less than two-thirds the maintenance level. San Francisco and Washington had exceptionally low indexes, only slightly above half of the maintenance level, while Los Angeles and New York were only slightly above three-fifths of maintenance. These larger cities are rapidly approaching the point where they will not have more than half enough children to maintain their present numbers. The urban population as a whole is not in such a parlous condition, however, as has been indicated above.

What would happen if the *number* of births in the urban, rural-farm and rural-nonfarm populations remained as of 1935-1939 can be seen by calculating the total population these births would support. On the basis of its children 0 to 4 in 1940 and death rates as of 1930-1939 an urban population of 74,424,000 would decline to 69,208,000 when it reached a

TABLE 4. STATIONARY POPULATION BASED ON THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN BETWEEN 1935-1939, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, UNITED STATES
(Thousands)

Area	1940 Census Population		Population children 0-4 in 1940 will support
	Children 0 to 4	Total	
United States	10,598	131,669	145,138
Urban	5,040	74,424	69,208
White	4,558	67,972	63,176
Nonwhite	483	6,452	6,032
Rural—nonfarm	2,545	27,094	34,917
White	2,309	24,827	32,006
Nonwhite	236	2,267	2,912
Rural—farm	3,013	30,151	41,012
White	2,409	25,414	33,420
Nonwhite	604	4,737	7,592

life-table age distribution. On the other hand, the rural-nonfarm population would increase from 27,094,000 to 34,917,000 and the rural-farm population would grow from 30,151,000 to 41,012,000, hence, the total would grow from 131,669,000 to 145,138,000, all of which gain plus the urban losses would come from the rural population, and chiefly from the rural-farm population. But since it would take several decades for the changes just mentioned to become actual it may be of more interest to look at the prospect for the next twenty years. These can be calculated with fair accuracy since the people involved are already born.

The population 0 to 9 in 1940 will furnish the soldiers and the younger workers in 1960, just as the corresponding group of 1920 is supplying them now. The number of urban males in 1940 aged 0 to 9 is smaller by about 50,000 than the corresponding group in 1920 (the total urban population has grown by somewhat over 20 millions in the meantime), hence, it will furnish from its present children about the same number of men of military age twenty years from now as it does now. On the other hand, the number of men of military age coming from the farm population twenty years hence will decline greatly since the number of children 0 to 9 in it today is not quite 30 per cent of what it was in 1920. In this last twenty years the farm population has actually declined by more than one million persons and the migration of young people 10 to 19 to nonfarm communities in the decades

1920-1930 and 1930-1940 has been in the neighborhood of four millions. The significant fact is that with numbers practically stationary and with a declining replacement rate the farm population will supply fewer soldiers and workers in 1960 than it does today. The rural-nonfarm population is the only group which will supply more than it now does (about 15 per cent more). But as shown in the reproduction rate for the United States as a whole the excess above maintenance in the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm population is not now sufficient to bring the total to this level. By 1940 these rural groups had become too small a proportion of the total population to make good the heavy deficit in the urban population. We must conclude from these facts that the rural population will not long remain a reservoir of laborers and soldiers for the nation. Furthermore there is no assurance that the rural-farm replacement rate will remain at its present level. In 1920 the replacement index for the native white rural-farm women was 176. This fell to 169 in 1930, that for all white women being 170. In 1940 the rate for all rural-farm white women was 148. Thus there has been a very rapid decline in the replacement rate of the rural-farm population as well as in the urban population and there is little reason to doubt that it will continue to decline in those regions where it is still quite high, *viz.*, in the South, the Southwest, and the Mountain states. Hence we must look forward to a farm population that within two or three decades will

probably do little more than maintain its own numbers. This being the case, the number of nonagricultural workers and soldiers supplied by the farm population in the future will depend primarily on whether agriculture itself will need as large a proportion of the total working population as it has been using.

For the immediate emergency, the workers that can be spared from the farms can only be guessed at in the roughest fashion and certainly will vary greatly from region to region. Where work connected with defense has been taken into a rural area and where a large proportion of the labor does not need long training it appears that many rural communities in the Appalachians and in the South are able to provide large numbers of laborers. I have been told that this is the case where plants have been located in some of the poorer regions of Virginia, West Virginia, Indiana, Ohio, Texas, and Tennessee. I have no reason to suppose that there are not many other plants whose labor requirements are similar to those I have happened to learn about. If this is the case it would seem highly probable that in certain regions there is at present a large reservoir of unskilled labor on farms which can be tapped at this time. One would assume that the greatest amount of this kind of labor would be found in those parts of the country where agriculture is largely self-sufficing so that any fair job promises a better living than the workers are now making. There should also be considerable numbers where the mechanization of agricul-

ture is throwing large numbers of men out of farm work. In general such areas are more common in the Appalachians, in parts of the South and in the "dust bowl" than elsewhere although they are by no means absent from other regions.

In 1930, approximately one-half of all the farms in the United States were subsistence farms; *i.e.*, contributed but little to the volume of farm produce entering commercial channels. If this proportion still prevails it means that a large proportion of the workers on farms could be spared from agricultural production without seriously affecting our supply of food and fiber. How many of the workers who could thus be released could be used at other work cannot be estimated very intelligently until more data from the 1940 censuses of population and agriculture are available. But 1940 data show that only 17.6 per cent of our labor force was actually employed in agriculture. It is not at all probable that this is the absolute minimum. It would not appear improbable that this proportion could be cut another two or three per cent, or by 1.5 to 2.0 millions if the cut were made in those regions where subsistence farming prevails. But it must be recognized that nonagricultural industry does not want many men past 35 or 40 who have no training and that a large part of these subsistence farmers and agricultural laborers who can be spared from the farms are above this age and have no specialized skill. Such men cannot be used effectively in most types of industrial work, nor

can they be transferred from subsistence farms to commercial farms with satisfactory results.

From a national standpoint, the rapid increase in urban population at the expense of the rural population and particularly of the rural-farm population may temporarily be very desirable and even necessary, but it should not be forgotten that our urban population now has only enough children to maintain it at about three-fourths its present size. Even the rural-nonfarm population is now only about 14 per cent above replacement level. The surest way to

increase the deficit in births needed to maintain our numbers is to draw farm people into the towns and cities. So far as the writer knows there is no significant exception anywhere to the rule that farm people have larger families than city people and he can see no indication of any change in this relation. This fact should be kept in mind when appraising the significance of the present drive to secure farm youth for city jobs and when attempting to look ahead to where our workers (and soldiers) are to come from a generation hence.

Rural Public Assistance and National Defense

*By Josephine C. Brown**

ABSTRACT

The effect of the defense program on rural public assistance is most apparent in rural "defense areas," in the neighborhood of army stations, naval shore and coastguard establishments, and new defense industrial plants. Reports from such areas in twenty states indicate that the situation of relief recipients and low-income families is aggravated by the increased cost of living; that the composition of part of the relief load is being modified without a reduction of the total need; and that the lack of suitable housing and sanitation, the increase in migration and juvenile delinquency have created serious social and health problems. Federal leadership and funds are badly needed, as well as additional professional personnel to assist state and local public welfare agencies in handling these problems which so acutely affect family life and child welfare.

Los efectos del programa de defensa nacional en la asistencia pública rural saltan a la vista en las "áreas de defensa," en la vecindad de estaciones del ejército, los establecimientos navales costaneros y la policía costanera (Coast Guard), y de nuevas plantas industriales de defensa. Informes recibidos de tales áreas en veinte estados indican que la situación de los recipientes de ayuda y de las familias de pobres jornales se ha agravado con la subida de los gastos de vida, que aunque la composición del grupo de recipientes de ayuda ha cambiado no ha habido ninguna reducción en números, que la falta de casas y el aumento en la inmigración y la delincuencia juvenil han creado serios problemas sociales y de sanidad. Se necesitan la dirección y los fondos federales, así como el personal profesional, para asistir las agencias estaduales y locales del bien público en el manejo de estos problemas que tan seriamente afectan la vida de la familia y el bien de la juventud.

Enormous tanks and transport trucks rumbling and clanging with indescribable clamor, tractors tugging and pulling, jeeps and motorcycles dashing like flies around the heavier vehicles, interminable lines of convoy trucks filled with soldiers, sirens screaming, horns blowing, men shouting—these are the sights and sounds which we are facing daily.

In this manner does one parish welfare director describe the unprecedented arrival of men and material for the army maneuvers in Louisiana. During August and September, 500,000 soldiers of the Second and Third Armies engaged in the greatest sham battle in U. S. military history. The scene of the battle included approximately two-thirds of the area of Louisiana.

Sleepy, rural towns were completely "taken," overrun by 15,000 or 20,000 soldiers; highways and country roads were jammed with the thousands of armored and transport vehicles.

Thus begins the September report on "Louisiana and National Defense" compiled by the State Public Welfare Director. It continues: "So completely has normal life been disrupted in the maneuver areas, it is not surprising that many of the parish reports were focused on these activities." But, at the same time, other defense activities continue throughout the state.

Housing projects near Barksdale Field, Camp Polk, and other centers have absorbed some of the laborers released from the construction of the army camps.

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Airports at Baton Rouge, DeRidder, and numerous other points are being constructed or enlarged. Construction is under way on the \$30,000,000 shell loading plant near Minden, for which labor requirements will be large. More than 1,000 workers are engaged in building the Louisiana Shipyards. Work has begun on the aerial and gunnery school at Lake Charles.

Against this background, which is repeated with variations in any number of rural areas, we must look for the direct effect of National Defense upon public assistance. However, before we examine the detail, let us look at the national picture of which this rural program is only a part.

During the twelve months ending October 1941, the total unduplicated number of households in which there were recipients of public assistance and of wages on public works programs, dropped from five to four million, and the number of persons in such households decreased from fourteen to ten million. Prior to 1940 the estimated total number of households, after reaching a peak of nearly 8,000,000¹ in February 1934, ranged between 6,900,000 and 4,400,000; high in the winter, low in the summer.² The recent steady decrease, in opposition to the usual seasonal trends, obviously bears a direct relationship to the National Defense program. But a more startling effect of the increased industrial activity is revealed

¹More than 28,000,000 persons.

²Social Security Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Feb. 1941), Social Security Board, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

in the analysis of this overall figure. There has been a slight, but steady increase in the number of recipients of old age and blind assistance and of aid to dependent children, although the number of children aided has decreased slightly each month since May 1941. A marked decrease in C.C.C. enrollment was offset by increases in N. Y. A. project workers. But general relief and W.P.A. employment have dropped decidedly during the same twelve-month period. General relief recipients have decreased from 1,230,000 in October 1940 to 796,000 in October this year or 35 per cent, while W.P.A. employment fell from 1,743,000 to 1,010,000 or 42 per cent.³

Great pressure is being brought in Congress and in state legislatures to reduce work relief and public assistance appropriations, and drastic cuts have already been made or are pending in a number of states. However, in the face of this drop in the general relief load and the consequent drive to cut appropriations, the Social Security Board has given official recognition to the need for a Federal-State general assistance program, and I understand that a recommendation to this effect has been discussed with the President within the last few months.

Federal provision for this fourth public assistance category has been proposed by the Family Security Committee of the Federal Security Agency's office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, and by the Con-

gressional Committee to Investigate Interstate Migration of destitute citizens, which has recently been asked also to investigate conditions due to defense migration.

These proposals for additional Federal relief appropriations in a time when employment is increasing rapidly and total relief rolls are decreasing can only be explained on the assumption that much of the need has not been and will not be relieved by the defense program, that great areas of unmet need have existed and still do exist, that the situation of relief recipients and low-income families is greatly aggravated by the increased cost of living, and that the composition of part of the relief load is being modified without reducing the total need in many areas.

In June of last year, 2,300 counties had no direct defense contracts, and their volume of unemployment and need was almost as great as ever. In a number of rural mining counties as many as 50 per cent of the population were still dependent on public assistance. A similar situation existed in the iron ore and lumber counties in the upper peninsula of Michigan.⁴ Even if statistics were available on recipients and expenditures in rural areas they would not reveal the extent of the unmet need, nor the variety of existing problems. Since not only rural statistics, but summary reports of the situation in rural areas are lacking, I have reviewed

³Social Security Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Feb. 1941), and Vol. 4, No. 12 (Dec. 1941).

⁴Myers, Howard B., Effects of the National Defense Program on Unemployment and Need, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, Pamphlet, 1941.

reports for the year 1941 dealing with public welfare and related activities in a number of states which have a high percentage of rural population and in which there are both important defense areas, and counties only indirectly affected by the defense program. This material can only be used to illustrate the types of problems which at present are affecting the public assistance, general relief, and work-relief programs. However, the similarity of the situations revealed in the reports from a considerable number of rural areas scattered over the country, makes possible a few general though tentative conclusions.

Last March the Federal Office of Defense, Health and Welfare Services compiled a list of approximately 1,000 communities in which were located or which were reported as directly affected by army stations, naval shore establishments, Marine stations, coast guard establishments, war-time training schools, and new defense industrial activities.⁵

Within the last month a new list has been compiled of twice as many communities, scattered throughout 48 states, three states having but one each, and at least one state, Texas, having 70.⁶ These communities range from villages of a few hundred in-

⁵Defense Community List, Revision No. 1, Federal Security Agency, Office of Coordinator of Health, Welfare and Related Defense Activities, Washington, D. C. Multi-graphed, March 15, 1941, 42 pages.

⁶Defense Communities, Revision No. 2, Office for Emergency Management, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, Washington, D. C. (preliminary). Typed, 75 pp., Dec. 1941.

habitants to cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, and Birmingham, Alabama. In addition to this list of 2,000 communities with their surrounding rural areas, the army has authorized the purchase of four million acres of land for proving grounds and maneuver areas, landing fields, and anti-aircraft firing ranges. From much of this area farm families have been or are yet to be moved.

The choice of illustrations in these defense areas has been limited by the availability of material. The Louisiana and Alabama Departments of Public Welfare have issued periodic summaries from which I have drawn heavily, but the information from other areas is scattered and fragmentary. Much of it has been compiled by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services from reports of Federal and State officials. By consulting these records I was able to make some comparison of the problems in Louisiana and Alabama with those existing in rural counties of some eighteen other states representing every section of the country.⁷

Alabama, excluding Birmingham, is 80 per cent agricultural. The State has sixty-seven counties which the latest public welfare report, dated December 1, last, divides into three groups: first, 18 which are direct defense areas with over-population and crowded living conditions; second, 30 which are suffering from out-migration of people and the consequences of

⁷Arizona, Arkansas, California, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington.

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population loss; and third, 19 which are affected by higher living costs and the general restlessness which is apparent everywhere. The map attached to the report shows the location of twenty-four major defense activities. Louisiana has 26.

Wherever a major defense project has been established in a rural county thousands of newcomers, construction workers, soldiers, camp followers, and migrants looking for work, have suddenly flooded the small towns, villages, and farming country. For example: two camps for 31,000 and 29,000 soldiers respectively have been built in the open country within twenty miles of the same small city. To a village of 900, defense industries have come which now employ 3,000 workers and plan to expand to 17,000.

Another village of 515, with 1,500 people in its trade area, has a defense plant in which the 4,000 employees may grow to 10,000, or even 15,000, and there are any number of similar situations.

It is not surprising, therefore, that housing is a most pressing problem, and one which has a direct connection with public assistance as well as with health and sanitation. Also, it is obviously much more acute in rural than in urban defense areas.

The following description comes from Louisiana:

With the influx of workmen, living conditions in the southeast portion of the parish became deplorable. Trailer camps sprang up overnight. Natives charged the workers exorbitant prices for

room and board and when the demand for living quarters continued to increase, chicken houses and barns were hastily repaired and rented. Many of the workmen built boarded shacks and batched together. In the beginning of the work three couples, one of whom had a child, were reported to be sleeping in shifts in a small tent. A small country church ousted the church janitor, who is a Department of Public Welfare client, from the one room house he occupies on the church grounds and rented it to a family of five. The church grounds were then rented as trailer and tent space and a fee was charged each family for the use of the church well.

Another report states: "Individuals have been sleeping in automobiles in front of hotels and others have paid as much as \$1.00 a night for the privilege of sleeping in chairs in the living rooms of tourist homes." Rents have skyrocketed:

One Negro family, clients of the welfare department, is renting a tent for \$5.00 per month and has to pay \$5.00 a month in addition for ground on which to pitch the tent. Their stove was broken when they were forced to move; so they are now having to cook out of doors. The three room shack formerly occupied by this family of Negroes is now rented to a white family for \$30.00 per month.

In a Texas county rents rose 37 per cent between March 1940 and June 1941. Forty-eight Alabama counties reported increases between August and December of this year varying from 2 to 100 per cent. Reports from

several other states cited increases of 50 to 100 per cent. A survey undertaken jointly last spring by the W.P.A. and the Bureau of Labor Statistics secured information on rents in 44 defense localities, throughout the country, including both urban and rural areas, and shows average increases ranging from 5 to 40 per cent. The report points out that:

These are of course, average increases. They do not highlight the extraordinary instances of 100 per cent increases which have been brought to our attention. Information on Negro rentals reveals a similar, if not more aggravated situation.

A number of Louisiana families who are recipients of public aid have been evicted because of inability to pay rent. Others, even though they are not in arrears to their landlords are being offered the alternative of paying increased rent or moving immediately. Families finding it impossible to meet these demands have resorted to purchasing small lots on the installment plan and erecting shanties from rough slab lumber. In a number of instances evicted persons have spent the night in jail because they were evicted without notice and had no other place to go.

A family of seven persons in Missouri, receiving aid to dependent children moved into a two-room house with another family. In the same county four families are living in chicken or brooder houses.

One old man met his landlord's demand for more rent by moving his family into one room of the house and

subletting the other rooms for so much money that he not only had a steady, comfortable income, but soon had several hundred dollars in the bank.

This is not the only instance in which assistance payments have been stopped when old people and mothers of children who were receiving assistance grants took advantage of the housing shortage to become self-supporting.

The lack of housing facilities is being alleviated in some areas and intensified in others. A number of defense housing projects are being constructed, but their development is lagging far behind the need. In areas where permanent homes are not needed the solution probably lies in the expansion of the temporary shelter program of the Farm Security Administration which provides trailers and dormitories as "stop-gap" housing for defense workers.

Higher food prices constitute another major factor in the rising cost of living, and work great hardship not only on public assistance recipients and W.P.A. project workers, but on marginal low-income families, particularly farm laborers and small farmers.

Reports on food costs from Alabama's 67 counties early in December, 1941, revealed an advance in every area ranging from 7 to 33 per cent. However, the industrial and metropolitan centers showed the greatest increases.

Prices on clothing have jumped as much as 35 per cent in some localities, the least increase be-

ing 10 per cent. The greatest advance in wearing apparel was in the cotton work clothes commonly purchased by public assistance clients. The only other items on which data were furnished included fuel and medical supplies. Both have advanced in price, the latter from 7 to 50 per cent.

A Louisiana parish reports that:

Appeals are coming in daily for clothing for children of school age. With the closing of the W.P.A. Sewing Project and advances in prices, it will be difficult for many families to clothe their children properly.

In another parish:

The N.Y.A. unit formerly made clothes with which the A.D.C. families were supplied, but the unit is now making supplies for the defense program.

Applications for increased assistance grants to meet these rising costs are of daily occurrence in public welfare offices. Few rural agencies have funds with which to increase their payments. On the contrary, in Missouri reductions in legislative appropriations have necessitated cuts up to 30 per cent in Old Age Assistance grants and in Aid to Dependent Children.

There is also a decided increase in assistance applications from so-called "borderline" families, as a direct result of the rising cost of living. These people could manage somehow last year, but now they find their meager incomes insufficient. Another group which is seeking aid for the first time consists of older persons whose relatives are no longer able to support them because of the increased cost of

living. In some cases these relatives have found defense jobs in another county or state, and the upward price trend makes maintenance of two homes impossible.

The problem of the migratory laborer and his family constitutes an entire subject in itself, and belongs in this paper only insofar as it affects the public assistance program.

Apparently little public aid is being asked by or given to non-residents. To a great extent this is due to the fact that numbers of migrants get jobs and do not need assistance. But there are other less hopeful reasons. Public assistance offices as a rule do not give aid to non-residents as a matter of policy, and this fact is well enough known to keep them from applying. In a Utah county where the public welfare office was receiving no requests for aid from migrants, the local Red Cross chapter was getting an average of fifteen emergency calls a day. It is probable also that a great deal of the migrants' unmet needs are covered up or side-stepped by official resort to local jails, and the ancient practice of "passing on" to the next town or county. The public welfare agencies are, however, being forced to deal with the problem because the number of stranded and destitute families is steadily increasing. This is true of those who do not get jobs and also of those who do. The latter often need help while they are waiting for work or for their first pay check. Later the high costs of living strain their resources, or illness comes, due to crowded and unsan-

itary living conditions. Louisiana reports that:

Calls for assistance from migrant families have increased to the point of taxing the facilities of all community groups. One of the main difficulties is that most of these families want to remain in this area in the hope of getting employment; most of these are in an acute situation when they apply for assistance. For example, one family—a man, his wife, and six children—came from Texas seeking employment, swapping their household articles all along the way to buy gasoline. When they arrived, they had not eaten since the day before.

A man employed as a painter at an army camp was arrested for drunken driving and placed in jail. The family had recently arrived in this state from Kansas City. He had a wife and two children living in a tent near the camp entrance. They were unable to pay tent rent so they packed their few belongings in their dilapidated car and moved to the parish seat, sleeping in the car at night and were fed by the parish jailer. Eventually, the judge agreed to reduce his fine and several citizens contributed the \$40.00 due. He was requested to leave.

Applications for relief are coming from families of men who have been drafted or who have enlisted in the Service. Several cases are cited in the reports. Here are two illustrations:

A son was supporting his father and sister by working at a local lumber mill. He volunteered for Service, leaving his disabled father and sister without support. In the other case, an aged

mother was living with her single son who was farming on shares for their support. He was drafted because he did not claim exemption on account of his mother, who was dependent upon him for support. Both of these cases registered for assistance after the sons had been called for Service.

A Texas report says that "about one out of ten of the draftees, especially from rural areas, are temporarily deferred because of their families' dependence on them for physical care. No plans are under way to meet the needs of these families (when the men finally go to service)."

The need for relief among families of Service men is bound to increase when dependency deferments are less frequently allowed. This additional load upon the public assistance agencies can only be avoided by the provision of supplementary allowances from Federal funds.

There is still much unemployment not only in non-defense counties but in many defense area communities. The new jobs are largely for skilled workers and are concentrated in definite areas. Thousands of persons seeking work are handicapped by lack of the required skills or of any skills at all, by their age, or by some physical disability. Lack of schooling which is not uncommon in the rural South may even keep the younger worker from meeting the rigid requirements of the defense employer. One report cites inability to pay union fees as a reason for failure to get work.

The situation in agricultural areas

of Alabama has tended to decrease the relief load, temporarily at least. Migration to defense jobs, or in search of jobs, created such a dearth of farm labor during the crop season in many counties that farmers began asking the public welfare offices to send them applicants for W.P.A., and others requested the release of their sons from C.C.C. camps to help in the fields.

The emphasis placed by the W.P.A. upon defense work during the past year has resulted in the closing out of numerous non-defense projects. Where this has been done in rural counties, which are not in defense areas, much hardship has resulted, especially if no general relief is available for employable persons.

There is no reliable method of measuring the extent of need for assistance in rural or urban areas, or in a particular state, or in the country as a whole. However, a comparison of certain changes in general relief loads may give some indication of the situation existing in rural areas. Between December 1940 and August 1941, the number of cases receiving general relief in the United States dropped 30 per cent. During the same period, four states, each with a high percentage of rural population and a goodly number of defense activities had decreases of 7, 9, 15, and 22 per cent. Three other states answering to the same description increased their general relief loads, 4, 8, and 11 per cent.⁸

Public assistance agencies have developed their programs during the past five years with reference to, and

I believe it is not incorrect to say, with almost exclusive reference to, the economic need of persons whom they are legally equipped to aid. The staffs of most of these agencies have not been adequate in numbers or in training to do more than this. In fact their resources have been heavily taxed to fulfil the exacting legal and administrative requirements for making investigations, determining eligibility, and administering relief and the three types of special assistance, in addition to certifying or referring eligible persons for C.C.C. and W.P.A. employment and for surplus commodities. In only about 600 rural counties scattered throughout the country are these public assistance staffs supplemented by one or possibly two child welfare workers. Because of this concentration upon the problem of economic need, public assistance agencies in rural defense areas have been ill-prepared to deal with the floods of social problems which have poured in upon them as the inevitable result of the abnormal, congested conditions under which people are living. In urban areas, especially the larger cities, numerous private welfare agencies and public social services are more or less well-prepared to handle the situation. In rural counties, however, the public

⁸The four states showing decreases are, in the order given, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. Rural population in these states (1930 Census), 69.2, 69.4, 65.7, and 74.5 per cent respectively. The three states showing increases are Alabama, South Carolina, and Louisiana. Rural population, 71.9, 78.7, and 60.3 per cent. General relief data from Social Security Bulletin, February and October, 1941.

welfare departments are likely to be the only, or almost the only, social agencies with any number of paid staff members, and upon the shoulders of their public assistance and scattered child welfare workers the major part of this burden is falling.

Juvenile delinquency, child neglect, and child labor are all increasing. Mothers are working and leaving their children to run the streets without supervision. Children are sent to beg from soldiers on the streets, and to sell papers and merchandise in army camps. In fact, this street trading caused such a problem that in August the War Department issued an order to all commanding officers instructing them to see that it was properly regulated.⁹

The need for day nurseries for children of working mothers has become acute in some of the urban defense areas. It is a question, however, whether the problem will become serious in rural counties.

Family relationships are being subjected to tensions of many kinds; they are frequently breaking under the strains engendered by congested housing conditions, enforced lowering of standards of living, complete change of environment, illness and resultant worry because there is no money for doctors and hospital bills. Many families are learning for the first time what it means to ask for relief. Cases of desertion and non-

support appear in the reports with alarming frequency.

A number of states show recent increases in Farm Security Administration subsistence grants to farmers. These increases are undoubtedly due to a most important service which F.S.A. is rendering to many thousands of rural families who are being forced to move from their homes, because their land is needed for defense purposes by the Federal Government. This again is a subject by itself and can only be mentioned here.

On October first the F.S.A. was helping families to move from the sites of 58 defense projects in 24 states, chiefly in the South and Middle West. These projects involved the purchase of 2,000,000 acres of land from which more than 14,600 families were being displaced. The purchase of another two-million acres for defense purposes is in process, or has been authorized.

The Farm Security Administration helps these families to locate new farms, if necessary lends them money to buy farms, pays moving expenses, and makes rehabilitation loans and subsistence grants to help them get started. This type of aid is badly needed because a large percentage of the displaced families belong to the low-income farm group. Without such assistance, most of them would probably add to the landless, and perhaps to the migratory section of our population.

The most difficult problems are presented by the non-rural families in

⁹Activities of children in Army camps. Ag. 680, 42 (7-15-41) M B-M, August 16, 1941. War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C.

the villages of these areas, by the poorer tenant farmers, by the squatters, and by the older persons who have been partially dependent upon neighborhood charity. Since many of these people are already recipients of public assistance, the public welfare agencies are cooperating with the F.S.A. in making plans for them. At the best, however, a tremendous shaking-up is in process, which carries with it all kinds of possibilities for future difficulty, within the families themselves, as well as in their adjustment to new environments.

Faced with more need for relief rather than less, and with increasing demands upon the time and skill of their workers, the agencies are seriously handicapped by insufficient funds and staff. Most of the current budgets are so rigidly earmarked for use in the definite categorical programs that no funds are available for additional needs. The purchase of land by the Federal Government has reduced the tax income in many counties and this is bound to affect adversely local appropriations for relief. Where out-migration to defense jobs has left farm land idle, this also means a decrease in the tax income.

As the need for careful community planning has increased, the lack of strong leadership has been only too apparent in many areas. It is true that numerous organizations are being set up to carry out various phases of the defense program, but misunderstanding and duplication of effort are often the result of their activities. As one worker said, "Confusion

doesn't half express it." And the same report goes on to say:

"In those counties which have been experiencing defense conditions for several months, the situation is further complicated by the multiplicity of Federal officials and private agency representatives, all coming in from outside the State either to make a survey or 'to do something about existing conditions'."¹⁰

Credit must be given, however, to many excellent community programs which are being developed under state and local leadership. On the Federal level, in addition to the work of the Federal Security Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor has undertaken a program for day care of children, and has made additional provision for child welfare services in rural defense areas.¹¹ The Farm Security Administration, in addition to the re-location of families, is acting as agent of the Federal Works Agency in building permanent homes for industrial workers in crowded defense areas, and, as I said earlier, is also providing trailers and dormitories as "stop-gap" housing for defense workers. This is in addition to housing pro-

¹⁰This quotation and other illustrative material in this paper have been taken largely from multigraphed bulletins issued by the State Departments of Public Welfare of Alabama and Louisiana, and by the Family Security Committee, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, Washington, D. C.

¹¹Since this paper deals with public assistance, I have omitted mention of the important work of the United Service Organization and the American Red Cross.

jects undertaken by a number of other Federal authorities.

If the direct and pressing needs of public assistance agencies are to be met, there must be better planning and coordination, both horizontal and vertical, by all Federal, state and local agencies, as well as by national and local private organizations engaged in dealing with the social and economic needs of people. Certain specific measures are called for, and since a national defense emergency has created the need for them, it is logical that they all should involve the provision of Federal funds and Federal leadership. There seems to be a general agreement that Federal funds should be provided:

- (1) for general relief grants to the states, to be made on a variable matching basis, in accordance with their economic wealth. Categorical assistance grants should also be put on the same basis. (This is of special advantage to rural areas because the states with the highest proportion of rural population have the lowest per capita incomes.)
- (2) for general relief grants to the states on a 100 per cent basis for the care of interstate migrants.
- (3) for grants to the states for medical and hospital care of persons in economic need.
- (4) for additional public welfare administrative expenditures necessitated by the defense program, including the training of social work staff for public assistance and child welfare services.
- (5) for an adequate system of

supplementary allowances for families of men in the armed forces.

Every national emergency engenders some permanent expansion of provisions against social and economic insecurity. The industrial depression of the '30's left behind it the greatest permanent development of its kind in our history, the nationwide social security program. It is admittedly inadequate and incomplete. However, there are already indications that some of the gaps will be filled during our present emergency. Of greatest significance for rural areas, is of course the recommendation which, I understand, has already been made to the President by the Social Security Board, that the insurance programs be expanded to cover agricultural employment.

The most significant changes which seem to be in store for public assistance agencies are, first, the provision of greater financial resources and a more equitable distribution thereof, and, second, a definite shift of emphasis from the mere relieving of economic need to the socially constructive job of building up community and individual resources and preventing dependency with all its attendant social ills.

In closing I wish to quote and underscore the following statement which comes from the Alabama State Department of Welfare:

... The crisis through which the nation is now passing represents the first real test of public welfare departments in a national emergency. Created in behalf of a whole segment of our popula-

tion—those who are unfortunate and distressed—the public welfare departments must be the voice of these people in times of

war as well as of peace, for their needs are a vital part of that democracy which another segment is taking up arms to defend.

Boom Migration: Incidence and Aftermath†

By Robert T. McMillan*

ABSTRACT

It is estimated that 3.5 million civilians have migrated as a result of employment opportunities and increased wages in non-agricultural industries. The defense boom is primarily industrial, with the heaviest population movement recurring within and between cities, followed in order by withdrawals from rural-nonfarm and rural-farm aggregates. Defense migration is selective of white, single men under 30 years of age. Generally, migrant families are smaller than the average. Occupationally, skilled and semiskilled workers are in greatest demand. Uncertainty of the future, increased living costs, and high taxes seem to discourage savings among defense-boom workers. To counteract some of the effects of vast unemployment, relatively low wages, and undesirable levels of living anticipated in the post-war period, strongly centralized governmental control over the economic structure appears imminent. The measures utilized may afford greater protection to the socio-economic status of large capitalists and public officials than to that of small property holders, salaried employees and wage earners.

Se estima que 3.5 millones de ciudadanos civiles han migrado a consecuencia de la demanda de brazos y del aumento de salarios en las industrias no agrícolas. La actividad febril por la defensa es principalmente industrial, caracterizada por fuertes movimientos de la población dentro y entre las ciudades, seguida por migraciones más lentas en las agrupaciones campestres agrícolas y no agrícolas. La migración de defensa está compuesta principalmente de hombres de la raza blanca, solteros y menores de 30 años de edad. Generalmente las familias migrantes son más pequeñas que el término medio de las familias *en este País*. Desde el punto de vista de la ocupación de los trabajos, los hombres con habilidad y semi-habilidad técnica están en mayor demanda. La incertidumbre del futuro, el incremento en el costo de vida, y los impuestos elevados, parecen desalentar el ahorro entre los trabajadores enrolados en las obras de defensa. Para contrarrestar algunos de los efectos del enorme desempleo, de los salarios relativamente bajos, y del bajo nivel de vida previstos en el periodo de la post-guerra, parece que es inminente el control oficial fuertemente centralizado sobre la estructura económica *nacional*. Las medidas utilizadas pueden proveer mayor protección al estado social-económico de los grandes capitalistas y funcionarios públicos que a los pequeños propietarios, empleados asalariados y jornaleros.

Introduction

The current national defense boom is generating what may prove to be

one of the greatest migrations in history. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the following questions relating particularly to the shifting of the civilian population: First, what is the volume and direction of movement? Second, how are migrants se-

† Adapted from a paper read before the Southern Agricultural Workers Meeting in Memphis, Tennessee, February 4-6, 1942.

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lected as to residence, occupation, race, sex, age, and marital status? Third, will the changes in domicile and employment result in more than a temporary improvement in socio-economic status? Fourth, what are some of the social and economic prospects for the post-war period?¹

Volume and Direction of Migration

No one knows the magnitude of migration stimulated by national defense, and any estimates are inaccurate at best. The Bureau of Employment Security, under the Social Security Board, in July conducted exhaustive labor market surveys in 68 defense areas, and upon the basis of their findings, it was estimated that during 1941, 350 thousand of the 1 million skilled and semiskilled laborers needed would be immigrants. Assuming further that one-half of the workers had an average of 1½ dependents, this agency forecast a minimum migration to defense centers of 612 thousand persons.² The large bulk of workers engaged in oc-

cupations outside the defense industries are excluded from this estimate.

During the period from June, 1940 to September, 1941, the total civilian migration stimulated by the broad increase in non-agricultural employment may have involved approximately 3.5 million persons. This estimate is based upon these assumptions: first, that 2 million workers moved during the period; second, that about one-half of this number had 1½ dependents; and, third, that the early estimates of defense migration did not make sufficient allowance for the movement of civilians employed in non-defense occupations.³

A study of the recent changes in employment emphasizes the fact that the war boom is primarily an industrial boom. In September, 1941, employment reached the highest point in the history of the Nation. The number of persons engaged in civilian non-agricultural employment totaled 40.6 millions, an increase of 5.2 millions since the beginning of the national defense program in June, 1940 (Table 1).⁴ The greatest expansion

¹In the absence of any formal studies of defense migrants, the writer has made liberal use of data from the *Hearings Before the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration*. The Tolan Committee, as it is commonly identified, was authorized first by Congress in House Resolution No. 63, passed in April, 1940, "to study, survey, and investigate the social and economic needs and the movement of indigent persons across state lines." Pursuant to House Resolution No. 113, passed in March, 1941, this Committee was continued to "further inquire into the interstate migration of citizens, emphasizing the present and the political consequences of the migration caused by the national defense program, the effects of this migration on the various agricultural programs, and the development of economic conditions creating stranded communities and areas of potential migration."

²*Hearings Before the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration*, Washington, Part 17, House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1941, p. 6761.

³*Report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens*, House Report No. 369, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1941, p. 5. Also see *Washington Hearings*, Part 16, p. 6573.

⁴Though not included in the employment figures, it may be pointed out that the number of persons in the military and naval forces had risen from less than one-half million in June, 1940 to 2 million in September, 1941. This had the effect of reducing the total labor force correspondingly.

TABLE 1. EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, JUNE, 1940 AND SEPTEMBER, 1941

Classification	June, 1940	September, 1941 (In millions)	Per cent change
Number of persons in the labor force	56.3	54.3	— 4
Number of persons unemployed	8.6	4.5	—48
Age, years: 15-24	3.6	1.5	—58
25-54	3.9	2.1	—46
55 and over	1.1	.9	—18
Number of persons in non-agricultural employment	35.4	40.6	15
Number in 18 selected defense industries	1.6	2.7	69
Number of persons in military and naval forces5	2.0	320
Number of workers on farms*	10.9	10.4	— 5
Family workers	8.1	7.8	— 4
Hired workers	2.8	2.6	— 7
Per cent of all persons 14 years and over in labor force	56.6	56.3	— .3
Employed	47.9	51.0	3.1
Unemployed	8.7	5.3	—3.4
Five largest urban cities**	57.3	58.7	1.4
Employed	46.2	51.0	—4.8
Unemployed	11.1	7.7	—3.4
Other urban counties***	57.0	56.1	—1.9
Employed	47.3	50.6	3.3
Unemployed	9.7	5.5	—4.2
Rural counties****	55.8	55.6	— .2
Employed	49.5	51.5	2.0
Unemployed	6.3	4.1	—2.2

* Data for November, 1940, and November, 1941.

** New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Los Angeles.

*** Counties with population 45,000 and over in 1940.

**** Counties with population under 45,000 in 1940.

Source: Data from *Monthly Labor Review*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor. Data on farm employment, reported by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, taken from *This Week in Defense*, Office of Government Reports, Washington, November 21, 1941.

had occurred in manufacturing, with 18 selected defense industries absorbing 1 million new workers.

In agriculture, losses as a result of civilian and military migrations have been confined chiefly to hired farm laborers and to employable youth living with their parents. There were approximately 600 thousand fewer workers on farms in November, 1941, than in the same month a year earlier, according to estimates by the United States Department of Agriculture (Table 1).⁵ From a breakdown of farm workers into component groupings, it appears that hired laborers

have left agriculture in relatively greater numbers than family laborers. However, a vast supply of labor still resides in the open country, for it is estimated that 5 million unemployed and underemployed persons, including marginal farm operators, can be withdrawn from agriculture without reducing commodity production materially.⁶

⁵This figure does not include farm operators and the non-working members of their families. Corrington Gill, Assistant Commissioner of the Works Projects Administration, testified before the Tolan Committee that not more than 1 million persons had been drawn from agriculture up to July, 1941. *Washington Hearings*, p. 6497.

Up to September, 1941, the largest proportion of defense workers had been drawn primarily from the major industrial areas since excessive unemployment in cities had created huge labor reserves there. Also, large numbers of skilled and semiskilled laborers, who are in heavy demand, had migrated to defense centers from smaller urban and suburban communities.

In addition to the migration of workers between cities, thousands of oil field laborers, automobile mechanics, and others possessing some experience in skills have moved from villages into cities.⁷ While the movement of unskilled laborers and inexperienced youth from villages and open-country areas has been large, many of these persons are filling vacancies in the smaller cities nearer home.⁸

Without minimizing in the least the significance of the population redistribution in terms of increased employment and income, it is appropriate to stress that the amount of unemployment still remains large. According to the W.P.A. monthly report on unemployment, 4.5 million persons, or 8.3 per cent, of the total labor force, were not working in September, 1941, as compared with 8.6 mil-

⁷Ibid., p. 6843.

⁸Over four-fifths of the estimated 1.4 million workers needed in the defense industries up to the middle of 1942 must be in the skilled and semiskilled grades. *Washington Hearings*, Part 16, p. 6313.

⁹These observations are based upon data submitted in the testimony of Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman, Social Security Board, Federal Security Agency. *Washington Hearings*, Part 17.

lion persons, or 15.3 per cent, in June, 1940.

The data presented earlier in Table 1 show that the greatest gains in employment have occurred in the five largest cities, followed by smaller urban counties, and lastly by rural counties. However, the relative amount of unemployment continues to vary directly with the size of community.

The reduction in the labor force from 56.3 to 54.3 million persons between June, 1940, and September, 1941, can be explained largely by the removal from the labor market of military recruits and the return of youth to school in the fall months. In contrast to the trend in the remainder of the nation, the labor force increased in the five largest cities. Presumably married women, aged persons, and students not previously working or seeking work, are taking advantage of new employment opportunities that had not yet appeared in many of the smaller urban and rural communities.⁹

Contrary to popular belief and the claims of Federal officials, efforts to decentralize industry under the national defense program have been relatively ineffective. The defense boom is expanding the size of the Nation's largest urban centers, especially those with aggregates of 100 thousand population and over. Twenty major industrial areas with 27.1 per cent of the national popula-

⁹It is estimated that nearly 2.5 million women are immediately available for defense work. "Employment of Women in Defense Industries," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 52, May, 1941, p. 1149.

tion had received 64.7 per cent of the prime defense contracts allocated through June 30, 1941.¹⁰ How closely defense preparations conform to the existing patterns can be illustrated by the fact that twelve states (California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania) producing 71.9 per cent of the value of the manufactured goods in the nation during 1939, drew 72.3 per cent of the funds for prime defense contracts and 69.7 per cent of the estimated costs for new plant facilities. Obviously the Government is not apprehensive of the possibilities of invasion, for nearly two-thirds of the new plants are being constructed in the coastal states of the nation.

Not only is there a heavy geographic concentration of defense contracts, but also the well-established monopolies are getting the bulk of the armament business. In October, 1941, 95.0 per cent of the Army and Navy's dollar obligations were to approximately 3,000 corporations, but 82.6 per cent had been allocated to the 100 largest concerns engaged in the production of munitions, planes, ships, trucks, tools, tanks, textiles, and other defense items.¹¹

From the factual evidence presented in this portion of the study, it may be inferred that the amassing of men, machines, and materials in the metropolitan centers hastens the long-time trend toward the concentration

of population and economic power in this nation. If history repeats, further industrialization will be accompanied by greater inequalities of wealth and income, widespread poverty, and increased dependency of the propertyless classes.

Characteristics of Migrants

In earlier discussion it was learned that the migrant population probably has been selected by residence in the following order of importance: (1) urban, (2) rural-nonfarm, and (3) rural-farm. Skilled and semi-skilled workers have been in heaviest demand, but other qualified workers, especially those above the unskilled level generally have found ready employment. The next step is to observe the race, age, sex, marital composition, and economic status of migrants.

Race. The current defense boom is selective of white migrants. Unlike the situation prevailing during the first World War, Negroes have not moved in large numbers from the South, because employment opportunities in defense industries generally are being denied to them. For example, the aircraft industry employs almost no Negroes, although the Government has trained a few for this work.¹² Opposition by labor

¹⁰Washington Hearings, Part 16, pp. 6592-6594.

¹¹Time, January 5, 1942, p. 58.

¹²In July, 1941, only four Negroes were working in the airplane factories in California, and the large Glenn Martin plants in Baltimore reported none. See the testimony of Robert C. Weaver, Chief, Negro Employment and Training Branch, Labor Division, Office of Production Management, Washington Hearings, Part 16, pp. 6529-6545.

unions, traditional prejudices against the Negro,¹³ and the reluctance on the part of management to inflame racial hatreds by insisting upon the employment of Negroes have been cited as reasons for discrimination. Presumably Negroes will derive some economic gain from a general increase in labor demand, but being handicapped by a poor bargaining position, their chance of improving their status at present appears remote.

Age. By coincidence, the defense boom is offering long-awaited employment opportunities to an abnormally large number of youth born in the first few years after World War I. Relatively more persons under 25 years of age have found employment than persons in older age groups. Still, the youth in this age group comprised one-third of the 4.5 million persons unemployed in September, 1941, according to estimates of the recently-established W.P.A. monthly unemployment survey (Table 1). Certain of the older industries, for example, steel, shipbuilding, and textiles, are accepting older skilled and semiskilled workers. The rapidly-expanding aircraft industry, on the other hand, shows preference for workers under 25 years of age.

On the basis of observations in six widely selected defense cities, it is probable that from 35 to 50 per cent of the migrant workers are under 30 years of age.¹⁴ The heavy migration of youth, especially those from rural

areas, relieves families in the sending communities of problems induced by prolonged dependency, overcrowding, and involuntary idleness.

Sex. In the past, migrations to the frontier, to the oil fields, to the lumber and mining camps, and to the armament centers have been highly selective of male population. The current boom migration is no exception. Defense manufactures, for the most part, entail the handling of heavy, bulky materials, to which men tend to be better adapted than women. As the war proceeds and men become scarcer, women workers will be used increasingly. Already at many of the defense centers, notable numbers of female migrants, both married and single, are working or seeking work. Seventeen per cent of a selected sample of recent migrant workers into Louisville were women, but only 8 per cent of those procuring employment were of this sex.¹⁵ Similarly, women accounted for approximately one-fifth of the migrant workers into the California defense centers during the period from August, 1940 to May, 1941.¹⁶ Since the 1940 Census shows that women comprise 24.3 per cent of the total labor force, it is apparent that thus far their incidence in boom

¹³In Baltimore, a survey of eight of the largest concerns holding defense contracts June 1, 1941, showed that one-third of the 59,250 employees were under 25 years old. *Baltimore Hearings*, Part 15, p. 5994. Also see *Washington Hearings*, Part 17, pp. 6747 ff.

¹⁴*Washington Hearings*, Part 17, p. 6777. The subjects were male and female migrants registering with the Federal-State employment office.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 6744.

¹⁶*Baltimore Hearings*, Part 15, p. 6075.

employment has been in smaller than expected proportions.

Marital Status. Not unlike other boom migrations, the one under observation has drawn disproportionately large numbers of single persons and possibly of separated, divorced, and widowed persons. Married migrants entering San Diego, Los Angeles, Seattle, Tacoma, Louisville, and Baltimore, constitute only from 45 to 55 per cent of the total immigrants.¹⁷ Frequently the family dependents do not move until the male head finds employment. Usually migrant families are younger and smaller in size than the average unit in the general population.

Defense boom migrants, as revealed by their racial, sex, age, and marital composition, form the twentieth-century counterpart of an earlier frontier population. They are seekers of homes and of economic opportunity. Few of them have material possessions other than the automobile, clothing, trinkets, and limited funds necessary to transport them from one community to another. It is appropriate at this point to raise the question whether the earnings from their boom employment will enable these migrants to accumulate savings with which to purchase a home, farm, workstock, farm machinery, small retail store, or other means of obtaining a living after the war.

Present Problems of Migrants

The average wage rates in recent months have reached the highest

point ever recorded, with the bulk of workers in the manufacturing industries earning between \$30 and \$40 per week.¹⁸ To the prospective defense employee these wages are high in comparison with those prevailing in retail stores, banks, filling stations, and other service institutions, but the sharp advances in food and housing costs, especially in the defense centers, tend to cancel the advantage of a differential in wages.

The high costs of construction and the temporary nature of employment tend to discourage home ownership among migrant wage earners. Private capital, too, has tended to be withheld from investments in housing facilities. Consequently the Federal government during 1941 financed the construction of 330,000 homes in the major defense cities.¹⁹

The uncertainty of the future, instead of being an incentive toward saving, seems to stimulate reckless expenditures. For the nation as a whole, the amount of consumer credit reported as of September, 1941, has surpassed by 1 billion dollars the previous high point of 8.1 billions set in 1929.²⁰ At the same time the individuals and families in general, regardless of increased earnings,

¹⁷The average weekly earnings in specific industries in September, 1941 were: aircraft, \$38.51; automobile, \$42.20; shipbuilding, \$46.69; blast furnaces, steel works, and rolling mills, \$37.89; iron and steel products, \$35.65; machinery, \$38.38; textiles, \$21.73; and for 90 industries, \$32.01. *Survey of Current Business*, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, December, 1941, pp. 5-11.

¹⁸*Victory*, Official Weekly Bulletin of the Agencies in the Office of Emergency Management, December 16, 1941, p. 22.

¹⁹*Op. cit.*, Part 17, pp. 6752 and 6761.

gregate amount of savings is only slightly larger, if any, than a year ago.²¹ These evidences suggest that either have been unable or unwilling to safeguard themselves economically against post-war adversities.

The rapid growth of defense cities has over-burdened existing school, highway, water, sewage, health, and welfare facilities. According to the best estimate, 300 thousand migrant pupils were without adequate teaching personnel and equipment in September, 1941.²² Traffic problems have been multiplied by highway deficiencies in defense areas. Several cities do not have water and sewerage systems comparable to their needs. Overcrowded housing, lack of proper sanitary facilities, and increased risks from infectious diseases make the outbreak of epidemics a constant menace.²³ Recreation and relief services fail by a wide margin to meet the demands in most defense centers.

To reduce the lag in institutional services occasioned by abnormal economic expansion, practically all municipalities having defense industries are financing their civic program by borrowing and increased taxes. This

²⁰Robert B. Bangs, "Public and Private Debt in the United States 1929-1940," *Survey of Current Business*, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, November, 1941, p. 21.

²¹During the year ending in September, 1941, postal savings had increased slightly; savings in the banks of New York State were considerably lower; and life insurance sales had continued to increase in conformity with a long-time trend. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-14.

²²*Washington Hearings*, Part 16, p. 6521.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 6422.

expedient policy, though necessary, creates costs that have to be borne by the citizenry, including immigrants, for many years after the need has passed.

Post-War Problems

If thinking people have the fortitude to face the grim aftermath of war realistically, they need to condition themselves to anticipate widespread poverty, vast unemployment, pestilence, class conflict, persecution of minority population groups, terrorism, and other forms of disorganizing social behavior, unless intelligent planning and action are undertaken to circumvent these possibilities.²⁴ Most of this anti-social behavior probably will result from the unleashing of frustrated energies and emotions induced directly or indirectly by economic oppression.

Full employment is perhaps the chief means of alleviating economic distress. The failure of private enterprise to utilize fully the available supply of labor following World War I does not portend a bright outlook after the present crisis. Despite an increase of 14 per cent in the volume of goods and services produced in 1935 over 1920, the task was accomplished with only 82 per cent as much labor.²⁵ Forty-one per cent of the available labor supply was unemployed in 1935 as compared with 6

²⁴Cf. Willard Waller, Editor, *War in the Twentieth Century*, New York: The Dryden Press, 1940, pp. 528-531.

²⁵National Resources Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy*, Government Printing Office, Washington, June, 1937, p. 72. These data exclude enterprisers, self-employed, and unpaid labor on farms.

per cent in 1920.²⁶ A similar trend has been noted in agriculture.²⁷ Along with the increasing productivity per worker, the problem of unemployment has been aggravated by new additions to the labor force, amounting in recent years to 600 thousand annually.²⁸

If unemployment is not to be repeated on a far larger scale following this war, it will be due to changes in these basic elements: population, resources, technology, and social organization. A few of the more favorable factors that might be turned to advantage in solving post-war problems are:

1. A relatively intelligent and well-trained labor force;
2. Superior technology;
3. A fairly adequate body of fact and theory in the social sciences which may be used for intelligent social planning;
4. Adequate sources of raw materials;
5. A highly productive war time economy that could be converted into a peace time economy for purposes of implementing social and economic reconstruction;
6. A large accumulated stockpile of needed consumer items, e.g., housing, automobiles, clothing, and other goods and services; and,
7. The possession of highly developed propaganda techniques for welding a unified organization to promote and preserve social welfare.

In contrast, the Nation must deal with numerous long- and short-term problems among which the most formidable are these:

1. A labor force estimated at 60 million persons, which will be 20 or 25 per cent larger than that existing during the depression of the 1930's;
2. An aggregate public and private indebtedness of unprecedented size;
3. General bankruptcy of nations;
4. A strong disinclination of creditors to relieve oppressed debtors;
5. Barriers to international trade and movements of population;
6. The prevalence of monopolistic competition with its operating principle of restricted production and high prices; and,
7. The low morale induced by economic insecurity, social and political unrest, impotency of religion, and the corruption of ideals, traditions, and morals.

The post-war economic readjustments will be resolved, temporarily at least, by a series of compromises among several conflict groups. Numerically, the propertyless workers who possess no visible means of obtaining a living aside from their labor will form the largest and most contentious aggregate. According to their reasoning, the socialization of

²⁶Ibid., p. 71.

²⁷Agricultural employment decreased about 13 per cent from 1910 to 1940, though production increased generally during the same period. *The Agricultural Situation*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, February, 1942, p. 11.

²⁸Washington Hearings, Part 16, p. 6482.

large basic industries would be the principal solution for all economic ills. On the other hand, a relatively small but powerful group of privileged monopolists at the top of the economic pyramid, instead of accepting further advances toward state socialism, will seek to protect their position by imposing a modified form of fascism upon the economic system. A third group, consisting of middle-class manufacturers, wholesalers, retailers, real property holders, and salaried employees, will be alarmed at the encroachments of the upper and lower classes upon their domain of "free enterprise," but will be reluctant to join either of the other classes for fear of endangering their own status. A fourth group, comprising clever and ambitious public employees, always eager to promote its vested interests, will play the role of political jockey, and regardless of the outcome of the struggle for control, this scheming group will not be listed among the casualties.

In agriculture, the competition for ownership and control of land may crystallize into a two-sided struggle, pitting large-scale owner-operators against small owners, tenants, croppers, laborers, and displaced industrial workers seeking refuge in rural areas. If the latter group expects to improve its status after the war, it may have to resort to the aggressive, organized tactics of the urban pressure groups.

In order to avert a general economic collapse and civil disorder, the Federal government may be forced some time during the first two dec-

ades after the war to execute one or more of the following drastic actions:²⁹

1. Enact a form of strongly centralized control over production, employment, wages, and prices;³⁰
2. Reduce tariffs to stimulate international trade;
3. Effect a subdivision of large landed estates to satisfy the clamors of an increasing landless population;³¹
4. Manipulate the value of the dollar to provide some relief for debtors, including the Government itself.

Conclusions

The national defense boom is facilitating the process of urbanization and with it the centralization of population, wealth, income, and political power. While the boom continues, temporary benefits are conferred upon wage earners and salaried workers in the form of employment, wages, and improved levels of living. However, high prices and heavy taxes have tended to discourage home ownership and savings.

It is estimated that 3.5 million persons have migrated in search of employment opportunities created by the national defense program. Migrants

²⁹It may be possible to delay such action until the period of secondary depression. The deflationary aspects of post-war readjustment can be postponed but not avoided.

³⁰See George Stuart Patterson, "A Peace and Sound Economics," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CCX, July, 1940, pp. 68-72.

³¹Cf. Paul V. Maris, "Land Tenure Objectives," *Land Policy Review*, Vol. IV, July, 1941, pp. 34-37.

working and seeking work in the defense industries have been drawn disproportionately from among those reporting skilled and semiskilled occupations and from highly adaptable inexperienced youth. When the higher grades of workers are absorbed, increasing proportions of unskilled laborers, women, aged persons, and school youth will be recruited to fill additional openings.

The boom movement of population appears to be selective of white, single men and heads of families under 30 years of age. The migration of Negroes has been less than it would be if there were no discriminations

against them by employers and labor unions.

Upon the termination of the War, the Federal government, confronted by possibilities of colossal unemployment, huge public and private debt, and concentrated ownership and control of the means of production, probably will be forced to employ far-reaching reform measures to mitigate the deflationary effects of post-war depression. In effect, these measures may operate to protect the interests of the wealthy and bureaucratic classes rather than maintain the socio-economic status of the large classes of small property holders, salaried employees, and wage earners.

The Farm Security Administration and Its Attack On Rural Poverty†

By Joe J. King*

ABSTRACT

Farm Security Administration, after seven years of helping people free themselves from rural poverty, has developed a philosophical attitude of thought and several practical techniques of action. The philosophical attitude is a belief that poverty is relative, is not solely economic, is often mental, and rather than being a result of unalterable hereditary factors, is mainly the result of environmental influences and consequently subject to correction and perpetual improvement. Basic to this philosophical attitude is the agency's willingness to venture out on the social frontier of American agriculture.

The practical techniques of action are premised on the initial assumption that low-income farm families, if provided with sound economic and social opportunities, will democratically grasp these opportunities and improve their conditions. The techniques are: the rural rehabilitative loan with supervised guidance in home and farm management; the tenure improvement program; the water facilities work; the farm debt adjustment activity; the community and cooperative services, permitting small-scale operators to compete with large, corporate producers; the tenant purchase program; the migratory labor camps; the medical services; the cash grant aids; and others. All these techniques are being integrated into one concentrated drive on mental and physical rural poverty.

In this war period when powerful economic forces are drastically affecting American rural culture, Farm Security Administration declares that the attack on rural poverty has not ended. It has just begun!

La Farm Security Administration, después de haber asistido a la gente durante siete años a librarse de la pobreza rural, ha desarrollado una actitud filosófica y varios sistemas prácticos de acción. La actitud filosófica consiste en la creencia de que la pobreza es un estado relativo, no solamente de aspecto económico, sino que se basa también en una actitud mental, y que más bien que resultado de factores hereditarios inalterables, es mayormente el resultado de influencias del medio ambiente que se pueden, por consiguiente, controlar y corregir continuamente. Corolario fundamental de esta actitud filosófica es la *determinación* con que esta Agencia Federal se aventura en el campo social de la agricultura americana.

Los sistemas prácticos de acción se basan en la suposición de que si a las familias rurales de bajos jornales se les ofrece adecuadas oportunidades económicas y sociales, dichas familias aprovecharán democráticamente de tales ventajas para el mejoramiento de sus condiciones. Los sistemas son los siguientes: el préstamo para la rehabilitación rural, con orientación oficial en la administración del hogar y de la granja; el mejoramiento del programa de posesión de tierras; las facilidades para las obras de irrigación; el programa de ajuste de hipotecas fincarias; el programa de servicios cooperativos de la comunidad, que permite que los pequeños productores compitan con las grandes corporaciones de producción; el programa que facilita la compra de tierras; los campamentos de trabajadores migratorios; los servicios médicos; los préstamos de dinero; etc. Todos estos sistemas se están integrando en una campaña dirigida contra la pobreza rural, mental y física.

Durante este período de guerra, cuando poderosas fuerzas económicas afectan drásticamente la cultura rural americana, la Farm Security Administration declara que su ataque contra la pobreza rural no ha terminado. Acaba de empezar.

At this moment, Farm Security Administration is engaged in a vigorous attack against an unusual type of poverty, a poverty which is utterly devastating and thoroughly deplorable. It is the poverty which rises from a lack of human understanding, a lack of human compassion, and a lack of a social consciousness. In Caldwell, Idaho, the Caldwell School Board adamantly refuses to accept migrant children, living in the F.S.A. Migratory Labor Camp, into the Caldwell public schools unless the Federal Government pays the entire cost of each child's education. Farm Security Administration, however,

lacks authority to pay the entire educational cost of migrant children. This means, in blunt words, that if a migrant family with school-age children moves out of the F.S.A. camp and settles down somewhere along an irrigation ditch, the children can attend public school; but if the family remains in the F.S.A. camp, the children are barred from public school. The whole issue of community acceptance of some responsibility¹ for the education of children of migrant farm labor families, needed for harvesting the agricultural crops in the area, is squarely confronting our agency. We certainly are not going to "appease" on this issue and consequently may find ourselves involved in needless

[†]This talk was given to joint meetings of Soil Conservation Service and Farm Security Administration employees in the States of Idaho, Oregon and Washington.

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¹It should be remembered that Farm Security Administration, under Bankhead-Black Act authority, makes payments-in-lieu-of-taxes to counties in which the migratory labor camps are located.

court action and legal litigation.

Mindful of this rather colorful attack on one type of poverty, I want you to know that it is indeed a privilege to have the opportunity of discussing with a group of Federal employees the problem of poverty and the methods utilized by Farm Security Administration in attacking that poverty. It is a privilege because I firmly believe that Federal employees, engaged in wide public service, are keenly interested in the revolution which is vitally affecting our habits, thought-patterns, and modes of behavior—a revolution which is being intensified by the World War and the total National Defense effort. Furthermore, it is my conviction that most employees in rural agencies, such as Soil Conservation Service and Farm Security Administration, are aware that poverty is a relative term, may not be defined in strict economic terms, and is all around us.

What, then, is meant by poverty? Poverty, as I see it, is a lack of any element which is necessary to make "the good life." Stated in another way, poverty is in evidence as long as there is a possibility of improving a standard of living. And I certainly can never visualize a time when a standard of living cannot be improved. Furthermore, and of tremendous significance and equal importance, poverty is the result, not of hereditary factors, but of environmental influences and consequently subject to correction and perpetual improvement.

So it is that poverty is all around us. Some are impoverished from lack

of ideas. Others are impoverished from lack of vitamins or medical care. Still others are impoverished from a lack of a faith in the democratic process. Just this morning, while traveling to this conference, I struck up a conversation with a fellow passenger. Within a few minutes the passenger lashed out at the democratic process and for an hour and half endeavored to convince me that the totalitarian form of government was the best form of government. Here was a concrete example of a lack of a faith in the democratic process. He was not a defender of the *status quo*. To the contrary, he was a lowly paid agricultural worker striking out for, what seemed to him, a world of increased security. Still others are impoverished from a lack of a sense of humor—the priceless ability of occasionally stepping out of a role and laughing at the many actions which often seem so important. Others are impoverished from a lack of participation in community and social life. Others are impoverished from a lack of economic income to purchase the basic essentials of life. And so I say that poverty is all around us. All we need do is open our eyes.

A relatively small group of people did open their eyes to the rural poverty in the early 1930's. They saw more than 1,700,000 farm families trying to exist on an average income of less than \$500.00 per year; they saw poor housing, bad diets, faulty education, vast untapped markets for consumers' goods, and an insidious weakening in the morale and fibre of

rural culture. These people saw that there was a job to be done.

Very soon, actually in 1935, Resettlement Administration, predecessor of Farm Security Administration, was established to do the job of attacking rural poverty. It was obvious, of course, that the job was not to attack simply the conditions outlined above. Those conditions were chiefly symptoms of causes which were deep-rooted, were vicious, and were many years old. Some of the causes were: poor land; land erosion; excessive farm debts; evaporation of farm credit; disparity between industrial and agricultural prices; disappearance of European markets; industrialized farming; development of corporate farming; and, probably the most important of all, a maldistribution of economic income.

In attacking these causes, Resettlement Administration, and now Farm Security Administration, had no ready-made formula. It had to experiment. It had to venture out on the social frontier of American agriculture. But in all its venturing, the agency, it seems to me, held fast to three ultimate objectives:

1. No farm family would go hungry.
2. Every method, every conceivable experiment would be used in an effort to aid disadvantaged farm families to help themselves escape relief rolls and again become self-supporting.
3. Every possible means would be used to promote and to strengthen the democratic process, both economically and politically, in rural America.

In striving for these ultimate objectives, the agency has realistically forged several tools; tools which are daily used in the unending struggle against rural poverty. Let me run over a few of the tools which the Farm Security Administration has developed.

(1) *The rural rehabilitation loan.* This is the back-bone of the agency. Low-income farmers, unable to obtain credit from any other source, can secure financial assistance from our agency. But more important than the money, they receive competent guidance and supervision on how to carry on sound farm and home practices. The rural rehabilitation loan is the staunch defender of the family-type farm.

(2) *Emergency rehabilitation loan.* In the event of a disaster, an act of God, Farm Security Administration can quickly step into the problem area and aid the stricken farmers meet the emergency.

(3) *Land tenure improvement program.* Just as the land tenant will tend to "mine" the soil when he is not certain of his tenure, so will the landlord tend to neglect the repair of farm buildings when he is not certain of his tenants remaining on the leased farm. Efforts will continue to be made to eliminate some of the worst evils of the farm tenancy system.

(4) *Real estate loan program.* Why should farm families, developing and clearing new land on irrigation projects, be compelled to bear the entire cost of bringing the land into cultivation? Is not this new land a national

resource? Under this program, needy farm families are obtaining funds to purchase farms and to keep the farms already mortgaged.

(5) *Water facilities program.* All of us know the significance of a wise use of land and water. It is here, incidentally, that the work of Soil Conservation Service and Farm Security Administration is strongly cooperative.

(6) *Farm debt adjustment.* For many years, it has been accepted that the industrialist, the business man could adjust his debts downward. But at the same time, it has been held that the American farmer, that pillar of individualism, must pay his debts to the last dollar. We declare, however, that if the business man enjoys this privilege, should not the farmer? Our farm debt adjustment program has been and is of tremendous value in the attack on rural poverty.

(7) *Community and cooperative services program.* This is the very essence of Farm Security Administration. Here is a method whereby a group of low-income farmers, by joining together in a democratic cooperative, can compete with the large corporate "farmer." Here, too, is a method for advancing adult education groups and for promoting an understanding of the basic social and economic forces which are influencing the formation of rural culture.

(8) *Tenant purchase program.* Sharecroppers, farm tenants, and farm laborers are aided, by means of 40-year loans, to purchase economic, family-type farms. It is the program which implements the American

dream of assuring farm ownership to farm tenants. But sadly enough, there are far too few funds for providing farms for all those who want them.

(9) *Rural projects program.* Many "Doubting Thomases" have been quick to label all our projects as failures; and to be sure, some projects have not been immediately successful. We believe, however, that as time goes along, our projects demonstrate their value and their practical use. Furthermore, we hold that social customs, habits, and mores do not change over night. It requires considerable time, patience, and understanding. Social experimentation is not simple. But we do know that some social experimentation must be undertaken in order to find the cultural patterns which will foster and guarantee the democratic process in rural life.

(10) *Wheeler-Case program.* This is concerned with the development of farming communities on irrigation projects. This is quite a new tool and has scarcely been used. Here again we shall not limit our thinking to out-moded ways of attacking rural social problems.

(11) *National defense relocation program.* Often times when the United States Army purchases vast tracts of land for cantonment or other military purposes, it means the displacement of hundreds of farm families. One of the chief responsibilities of Farm Security Administration in the National Defense effort is to see that these dislocated farm families have an opportunity to settle again on farm land.

(12) *Migratory labor camp program.* The camps are designed to aid homeless, wandering farm labor families obtain temporary shelter, community participation, medical assistance, and proper diets for their children.

(13) *Medical services program.* Frequently, farmers experience considerable financial hardship through unexpected sickness in their family. Why shouldn't farmers, therefore, insure themselves against illness hazard? Why shouldn't they insure their bodies against sickness just as you and I insure our houses against fire, our automobiles against theft, our lives against death, etc.? The only trouble is that we become all involved over this perplexing question of property rights. Yet, in the last analysis, property is primarily a right to an income and in the instance of a low-income farm tenant, his right to income is his healthy, active body. By and large, we are making considerable progress on aiding rural groups to establish group medical services programs.

(14) *Labor relations surveys.* These are concerned with rural conditions which are compelling thousands of farm families to live a wandering, migrant existence. These surveys and studies are gathering basic data on the lives of the lowest-paid economic group in American society.

(15) *Grant program.* In cases of extreme need, we make small cash and food stamps grant for the purchase of food, fuel, and other basic necessities. These grants are utilized to improve and to assure the rehab-

ilitative process for low-income farm families.

Using all of these outlined tools and constantly endeavoring to discover new tools, Farm Security Administration is making a concerted and directed attack on rural poverty. Mind you, this attack is not limited to physical poverty. It is just as vigorously launched at mental poverty, the more dangerous of the two. As a matter of fact, the insidious forms of mental poverty are more disruptive to the improvement of the eco-political democratic process than the physical forms.

By way of conclusion, I wish to return to a statement made in my introduction, that is: a revolution is affecting our habits, thought patterns, and modes of behavior. Our economy is rapidly changing from a consumer-goods peace-time economy to a producer-goods, war-time economy. Countless problems are connected with this change. Each one of us is seeing the migration of the virile farm youth from the country side to the metropolitan area and its vast industrialized factories. Each one of us is witnessing the creation of great urban civilization. But these problems are as nothing compared with those which will confront us when this great emergency is over.

The problems associated with winning the war are as nothing in comparison with the problems associated with "winning the peace" and readjusting our people. Farm Security Administration declares that there are great tasks ahead. Those tasks are housing, implementing and pow-

ering the farms of our Nation, of making the farm something more than just "a paying proposition," of creating a strong, virile and healthy rural culture which will supplement,

stimulate, and—yes—indeed—even irritate the mighty urban culture which is springing up around us. So we say that the attack on rural poverty is not ended, *it has just begun.*

Correlates of Stage of Family Development Among Farm Families On Relief†

By Gordon W. Blackwell*

ABSTRACT

Statistical analysis is made of a sample of farm families on relief in North Carolina. The hypothesis is that certain meaningful relations exist between stage of family development and both structural and behavioral characteristics of families. Data presented indicate the hypothesis to be valid and afford evidence supporting the conclusions of previous studies.

Hácese un análisis estadístico de una muestra de familias que reciben asistencia en la Carolina del Norte. La hipótesis es que existen ciertas relaciones significativas entre el estado de desarrollo de la familia y los rasgos estructurales y de conducta de las familias. El material presentado indica que la hipótesis es válida y produce evidencia que soporta las conclusiones de estudios anteriores.

Various studies have shown that the family goes through certain stages in its development with consequent variation in particular aspects of family living.¹ Such studies may be of two types: (1) *historical analysis* where families which began their existence in a given period are studied throughout their life cycle, and (2) *cross-section analysis* of families of different ages in which the families are fitted into the life

cycle. The former method, though preferable, is difficult and has been

¹For discussion of such studies, see P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. II, Chapter X. The more important studies of the life cycle of farm families in the United States are C. P. Loomis, *The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities*, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 298, 1934; C. E. Lively, *The Growth Cycle of the Farm Family*, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Mimeoographed Bulletin 91, 1932; E. L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, *The Life Cycle of the Farm Family*, Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin 121, 1934.

The concept as used here refers to family units, composed only of living generations, rather than the life cycle of a "family name" extending over many generations. The latter is a legitimate use of the term but the difference from the present concept should be noted. See C. Gini, *Population, Lectures on the Harris Foundation*, Chicago, 1930, pp. 19 ff.

† This article is based upon Chapter IX of the writer's doctoral dissertation, "The Significance of Structural Family Characteristics in the Lowest Economic Stratum of Southern Agriculture," Harvard University, 1940, under the direction of Dr. Carle C. Zimmerman. Definitions of all terms used in this article are set forth fully in the dissertation.

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rarely attempted. Obviously periodic recording of data throughout the development of a group of families is usually impracticable. To secure the necessary historical information in the final stage of the life cycle would make the data subject to errors in memory and lack of factual detail. Hence, the substitute method has been developed of studying all families in a group, in whatever stage they happen to be at one cross-section of time, and of projecting the life cycle from information on the several stages for different families. This is similar to the way age specific death rates for one or several years are projected, by means of life table construction, into a death history for a cohort from birth throughout the entire life span. Loomis and Hamilton have pointed out that the results obtained through the cross-section method will differ somewhat from those found through historical analysis, but they conclude that the cross-section method is useful in the treatment of family data.²

The most thorough study in the United States of the farm family from the point of view of the life cycle has been made by Loomis. Basing his conclusions on an analysis of a sample of farm families in Wake County, North Carolina, and using the cross-section method, he delineated four stages in family development:³

STAGE I

Childless couples of child-bearing age.

²C. P. Loomis and C. H. Hamilton, "Family Life Cycle Analysis," *Social Forces*, 15 (December 1936), pp. 225-231.

³C. P. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

STAGE II

Families with the oldest child not over fourteen years of age.

STAGE III

Families with the oldest child over fourteen years of age up to his thirty-fifth year of age. No broken families are included in this stage.

STAGE IV

(a) Families over thirty-five years of age as calculated from the birth of the oldest child. No broken families are included in this group.

(b) Includes all the families in group IV (a) and in addition broken families with husband, if living, over fifty and wife, if living, over forty years of age.

Loomis found that certain relations do exist between these stages of family development and both structural and behavioral characteristics of families.

It may be fruitful, therefore, to scrutinize from this point of view data concerning 1,653 families on relief in North Carolina in 1934. This sample represents all employable farm families receiving relief in eleven counties selected so as to be representative of the state's several commercial and subsistence type-of-farming regions. An employable farm family was defined as a relief case with at least one able-bodied male between the ages of 16 and 59 inclusive with at least one year of farming experience. Lack of space requires the omission of most statistical tables which may be found in the original study.⁴

⁴See footnote (†) on page 161.

The age of the oldest child living at home at the time of the survey is used here to delineate the stages in family development. This factor is of primary importance in relation to rehabilitation of the family in farming. Limitations of the data at hand make it impossible to classify the families according to stages exactly comparable to those used by Loomis. Also it would mean eliminating a few broken families in Stages II and III and this is not desirable for the purposes of the study. Explanation of the stages used is given below. It will be seen that this classification is almost comparable to that developed by Loomis:

STAGE I

Childless couples of child-bearing age.

STAGE II

Families with the oldest child at home not over fourteen years of age. A few broken families are included but cases in which the head is single are eliminated.

Sub-groups:

Oldest child under 5

Oldest child 5—9

Oldest child 10—14

STAGE III

Families with the oldest child over fourteen years of age. In an occasional case the oldest child is over 35 years of age, the age limit set by Loomis. A few broken families are included but cases in which the head is single are eliminated.

Sub-groups:

Oldest child 15—19

Oldest child 20—24

Oldest child 25 and over.

STAGE IV

Families in which there are no children and in which the wife, if living, is above 40 years of age. Broken families are included. This stage is most nearly comparable to Stage IV (b) as delineated by Loomis.

Due to the nature of farming in particular, and rural society in the South in general, farm families in Stages I and IV are not common. It is unusual for a young married couple in a Southern agricultural community to wait long before having a child. Familism is in the mores of the people. Moreover, a family of several children has generally been regarded as an asset in the farming enterprise, although the crop control program may be changing this somewhat.

It has been noted that the rural family in the South still cares, to some extent, for its own old age insurance.⁵ When a family reaches Stage IV, more often than not it merges with the family of an offspring in one of the earlier stages. Also the tendency for farm families in Stage IV to migrate to villages, thus becoming a part of the non-farm population, has been noted in several studies.⁶ Furthermore, the

⁵C. P. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁶See C. C. Zimmerman and N. L. Whetten, *Rural Families on Relief*, Chapter III. The migration of unemployable families from the open country into villages in North Carolina was noted also in another phase of the present study. See further R. E. Chaddock, "Age and Sex in Population Analysis," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 188 (November 1936), p. 188.

fact that unemployable families (those with no physically able male member between the ages of 16 and 59) were excluded from this study, served to eliminate some families in Stage IV.

For these reasons and possibly others, only three per cent of these farm families in the lowest economic stratum of North Carolina agriculture are in Stage I, before children; and only one per cent are in Stage IV, the final stage with no children in the home.⁷ The number of cases in these stages is small and any conclusions concerning them must be regarded as tentative and in the nature of hypotheses to be tested by further study. However, with the remainder of the cases divided almost equally between Stage II and Stage III, more definite conclusions may be reached concerning the development of fam-

ilies through these periods and the relation between this development and certain structural and behavioral characteristics. Such analysis should give one a better understanding of the nature of these farm families.

Table 1 shows the number of families in each stage of family development as determined by the age of the oldest child at home. The distribution of the families according to period in the family life cycle takes the form of the bell-shaped curve (Chart 1). The modal group is that in which the oldest child is between the ages of 15 and 19, the beginning of Stage III for the family. Distribution of the families according to color and stage of family development reveals Negroes to be under-represented in Stages I and II and over-represented in Stages III and IV. This situation is related to the older median age of head among the Negro families.⁸ Conversely, white families occur relatively more fre-

⁷A Wisconsin study found, out of 900 farm families, so few cases in Stages I and IV that these stages were deleted and the few families omitted. See E. L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁸Based on data elsewhere in the original study.

TABLE 1. STAGE OF FAMILY DEVELOPMENT OF 1,653 FARM FAMILIES ON RELIEF IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1934

Stage of family development	Number of families	Percentage distribution
TOTAL	1,653	100.0
I. Before children	43	2.6
II. Oldest child under 5	184	11.1
Oldest child 5-9	253	15.3
Oldest child 10-14	382	23.1
III. Oldest child 15-19	450	27.2
Oldest child 20-24	253	15.3
Oldest child 25 and over	72	4.4
IV. Final stage, no children	16	1.0

quently in the earlier stages and less often in the later stages. These differences according to color are just large enough to be significant at the .05 level.⁹ It may be possible, then,

that race is of some importance as a concealed factor in this analysis.

Tenure Status

Generally speaking, families higher up the agricultural ladder tend to be under-represented in the earlier stages of family development and over-represented in the later stages.¹⁰ This is in accordance with the older median age of head found among the higher ranking tenure groups.¹¹ Un-

⁹In reporting the reliability of observed differences between proportions and means the following conventions will be observed: a difference which is not significant at the .05 level (that is, one which is less than twice its standard error) is termed "not significant"; a difference which exceeds the .005 level of significance (that is, one which is greater than three times its standard error) is termed "highly significant"; and a difference falling between these levels is termed "significant" with its level of significance specified. See Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Statistics for Sociologists*, pp. 449-451.

¹⁰This general finding is similar to the situation found by previous studies of the family cycle cited above.

¹¹Based on data elsewhere in the original study.

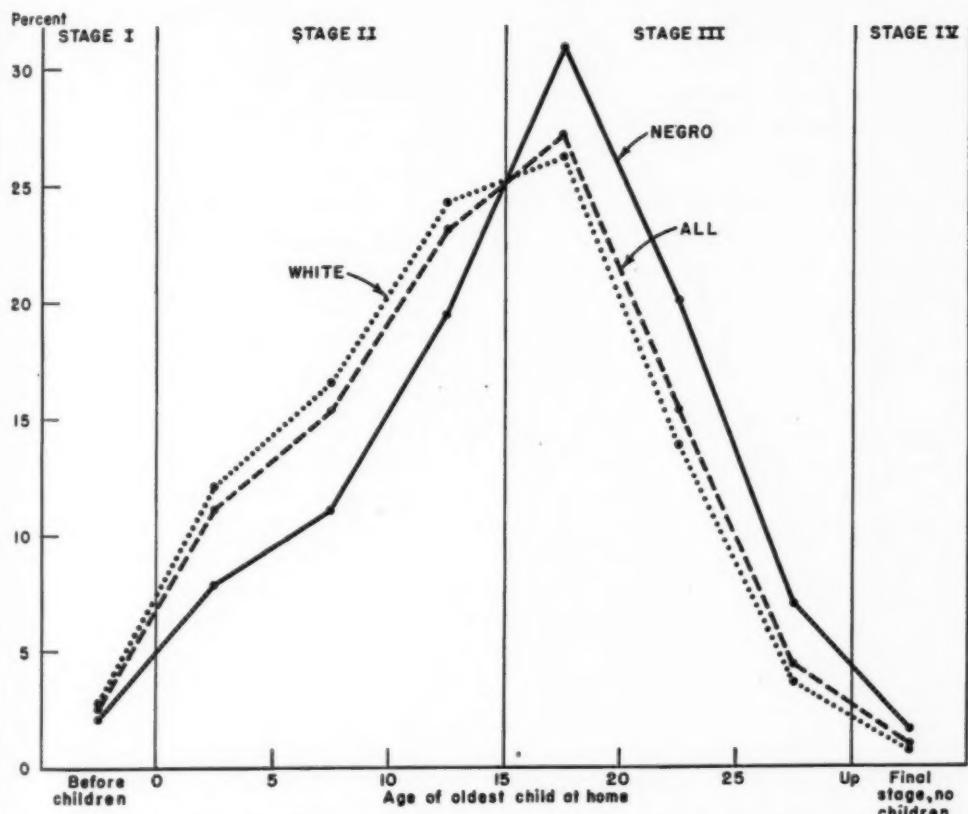


Chart 1. Percentage distribution of 1,653 farm families according to stage of family development by color.

der-representation in the earlier stages is greatest among farm owners and somewhat less noticeable in the home-owner¹² and share-tenant groups. A slight over-representation in the earlier stages is found for renters and displaced tenants, while it is much greater among croppers and farm laborers. Of course, the reverse situation in regard to tenure status exists for Stages III and IV.

Comparing tenure groups near one another on the agricultural ladder, differences in distribution of the families according to stage of family development are not large enough to be statistically significant. However, comparison of tenure groups at the extremes of the agricultural ladder reveals that differences in the proportion of families in Stage II or in Stage III are large enough to be highly significant. This justifies the general conclusion that in the higher ranking tenure groups families tend to be under-represented in the earlier stages of family development and over-represented in the later stages.¹³

¹²Home owner is a status devised to classify families who own their home but not enough land on which to be self-supporting in agriculture.

¹³Various agricultural economists have touched upon the theoretical implications of the family life cycle and the accompanying changes in family size. For examples, see H. C. Taylor, *Outlines of Agricultural Economics*, pp. 173-175; John D. Black, *Agricultural Reform in the United States*, pp. 368 ff.; John D. Black, "The Role of the Small Farm in Future Land Utilization," address delivered at the Chicago Conference on Land Utilization, 1921; L. C. Gray, *Introduction to Agricultural Economics*, p. 102; George F. Warren, *Farm Management*, p. 239. See also P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 144-146.

Net Wealth

Among these farm families on relief, those in the later stages of the family cycle have accumulated more net wealth (Chart 2). By way of explanation it may be noted that the amount of net wealth increases consistently among these families from one tenure group to another in ascending order on the agricultural ladder¹⁴ and it has been shown above, that families in the higher ranking tenure groups are more likely to be in the later stages of family development. These two facts seen in relation to each other, throw light on the relation between amount of net wealth and the family cycle.

Two specific points regarding net wealth and the stages of family development are worth noting. Young married couples still without children have a significantly larger average amount of net wealth than do families just entering Stage II with the oldest child under five years of age. A possible explanation is that couples in one of the higher ranking tenure groups, and hence with more than average wealth, are more prone to delay having the first child than the families lower on the agricultural ladder. The fact that among these farm families on relief the fertility rate increases with each lower tenure group on the agricultural ladder, with the exception of farm laborers, strengthens this reasoning.¹⁵ Another possibility is that the com-

¹⁴Based on data elsewhere in the original study.

¹⁵Based on data elsewhere in the original study.

ing of a child and the consequent entrance of the family into Stage II may often necessitate consumption of net wealth.

The other point is that generally those farm families who reach the final stage of family development with no children remaining in the home are able to retain the wealth they have accumulated. As far as wealth is concerned, this final stage is not a period of economic disintegration for the families.

The study by Loomis obtained no data on net wealth as such. However, number of acres in farm is closely related to wealth, especially among

farm owners. His analysis found that for both the owner and tenant groups the number of acres in the farm decreased somewhat from Stage I to Stage II, increased sharply in Stage III, and finally increased for owners and remained constant for tenants from Stage II to Stage IV.¹⁶ Thus, little difference can be noted in this respect between farm families on relief in North Carolina and the Loomis sample of all white farm operator families in a particular North Carolina county, this being indication that farm families on relief are nor-

¹⁶See C. P. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 22; also, C. E. Lively, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

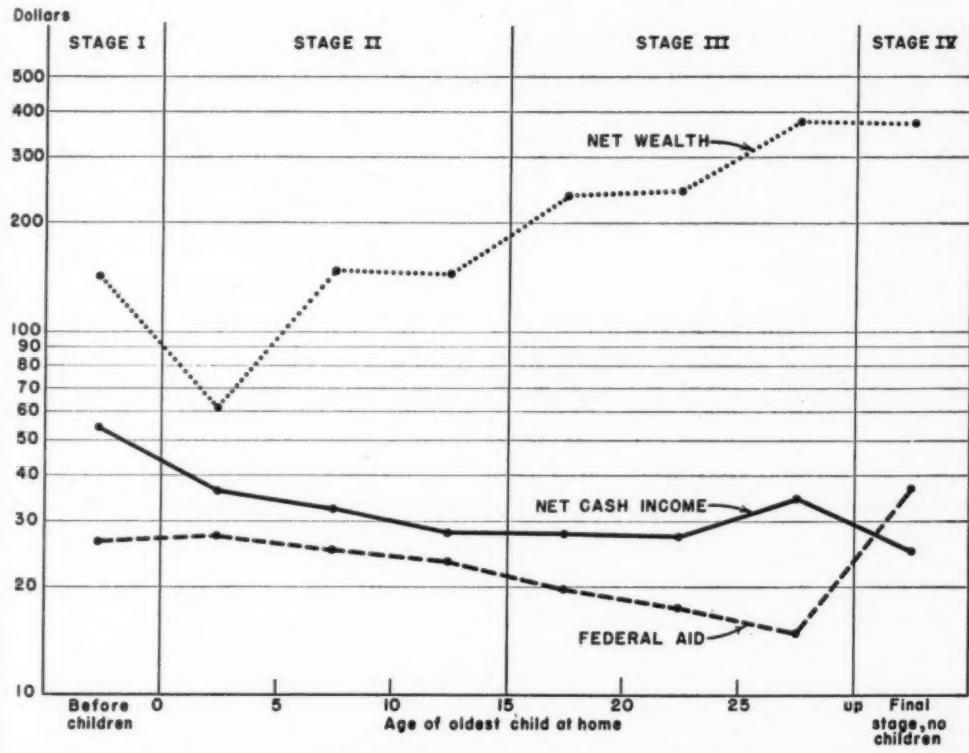


Chart 2. Net wealth (1,628 families), net cash income per consumption unit (1,652 families), and federal aid per consumption unit (1,280 families) by stage of family development. (Data on Federal aid were not available for families in three of the eleven counties studied.)

mal in this particular aspect of the family cycle.

Net Cash Income

The amount of net cash income earned per consumption unit during 1933 is one index of the vitality of the family in meeting its economic needs.¹⁷ Loomis found that total cash income per adult unit decreased from Stage I until the oldest child was between 20 and 24 years of age. Then there was a slight increase, followed by a decrease in Stage IV. This trend was fairly consistent for both farm owners and tenants.¹⁸ The same relation between net cash income per consumption unit and the family cycle is found for these farm families in the lowest economic stratum of North Carolina agriculture (Chart 2). Young couples with no children have by far the largest average amount of net cash income per consumption unit. A sharp decrease in net cash income on a consumption

¹⁷For measuring consumption units a scale was adopted, with slight modifications, as formulated in 1933 by the Bureau of Home Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture. See H. K. Stieberling and M. M. Ward, *Diets at Four Levels of Nutritive Content and Cost*, United States Department of Agriculture, Circular 296, 1933.

¹⁸C. P. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 24. For further discussion of this relationship, see E. L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 17, 21, 22; Wilson Gee and W. H. Stauffer, *Rural and Urban Living Standards in Virginia*, pp. 45-47; B. S. Rountree, *Poverty, A Study of Town Life*, pp. 160 ff; Maurice Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, pp. 97, 98; *Erhebung von Wirtschaftsrechnungen minderbemittelten Familien im Deutschen Reiche*, pp. 31, 67. A Russian study summarized in P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *op. cit.*, p. 148, shows that, when the family has been in existence 15 years, the "number of consumers per working force" is largest.

unit basis occurs as soon as Stage II is entered. The decrease is gradual from this point until the oldest child at home reaches maturity. This is in the middle of Stage II. At this time in the development of the family, the mother is most likely past the child-bearing period. More likely than not there are also several children in the youth age group. The economic productiveness of these older children materially increases the labor force of the family for farming and supplementary employment¹⁹ and the relative amount of net cash income increases. This situation continues as long as children remain in the home. In the final stage, however, when all children have left the home, the amount of net cash income per consumption unit drops noticeably.²⁰

Home-Use Production

Along with earned cash income as an index of a farm family's vitality in meeting its economic needs, should be considered the extent to which the

¹⁹Kirkpatrick has shown that Wisconsin farm families in this stage rely upon non-farm income much more than do families in the other stages of development. This, then, is the most favorable period in the family life cycle for part-time farming. See E. L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 30. For analysis of the nature of the work contributed by children in families in this stage, see Lucy A. Studley, *Relationship of the Farm Home to the Farm Business*, Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, 1931, pp. 13-21.

²⁰The differences between the means of all sub-groups are highly significant with the exception of adjacent pairs of groups in which the oldest child is 10-14, 15-19, and 20-24. The differences between adjacent means for these three groups are slight and not significant. This, however, does not invalidate the significance of the general trend.

family raises the food which it consumes. This is of especial concern among farm families which have failed to remain self-supporting. It is found that the extent of home-use production reported by these families compensates in some measure for variations in the adequacy of earned cash income.²¹ In other words, families in Stage I, which, as has just been indicated, have the largest average amount of net cash income per consumption unit, have the poorest home-use production record. Families in Stage II generally have a somewhat better record in this respect, while those in Stage III raise even more of their own food. Families in Stage IV have by far the largest proportion producing "enough" of the several specified food products to last the family throughout the year.²²

Several explanations may be suggested as to why the extent of home-use production, relative to the needs of the family, increases in each succeeding stage of family development. In the first place, the larger amount of net cash income per consumption unit earned by families in Stage I

may be a factor. These young couples do not feel the need of living-at-home as much as do the older families with relatively less cash income. Also, with no children it may be that these pseudo-families have fewer ties keeping them at home. They may be more prone to indulge in individualistic pleasures as opposed to raising food for home consumption, which is essentially an aspect of familism in a rural society. Gardening and caring for truck crop patches in the South are often the responsibilities of the women and children. Hence, lack of much labor force of this type in families of Stage I may be another factor. Concealed in this analysis is the factor of tenure status and, coincidentally, size of farming operations. Farm families higher up the agricultural ladder generally have larger farming operations and raise more of their own food.²³ It has been shown that families in the higher ranking tenure groups are over-represented in the later stages of the family cycle. This, then, may be another reason for the increase in home-use production in each succeeding stage of family development.

²¹The period covered in the investigation of home-use production was the preceding five years. Emphasis was placed upon several staple food products easily produced in the region such as corn, potatoes, pork, and, in some counties, wheat. The rating "enough" indicates that enough of these particular products was usually raised to satisfy the family needs throughout the year.

²²For a somewhat similar conclusion see E. L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5. Due to the size of the sample, these differences are not large enough to be highly significant although some of them reach the .05 level of significance.

Federal Aid

Federal aid to these farm families is a supplement to their earned cash income and their home-use production.²⁴ It should be recalled that families in Stage I make more net cash income per consumption unit than other families, the amount decreas-

²³Based on data elsewhere in the original study.

ing during the succeeding stages of the family cycle until the oldest child at home reaches maturity. Then there is an increase, followed by another decrease in Stage IV. On the other hand, home-use production increases in extent from Stage I through the succeeding stages. Families with the oldest child more than 24 years of age have a relatively high net cash income figure and a home-use production record second only to the few families in Stage IV. These families, then, should be less in need of relief than any other group.

According to expectation, it is these families with the oldest child more than 24 years of age which have the smallest average amount of Federal aid per consumption unit (Chart 2). The average remains approximately constant from Stage I into the beginning of Stage II. However, as the oldest child at home passes the age of five, the average amount of Federal aid per consumption unit decreases, the decline continuing consistently through Stage III. This is undoubtedly due to the increasing number of children with relief authorities not giving adequate consideration to this factor.²⁵ In Stage IV, the final period with no children in the family and the parents usually approaching old age, the figure increases sharply.²⁶

²⁵Federal aid includes direct or work relief in cash or kind received from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Rural Rehabilitation Program and Civil Works Administration during the eighteen-month period, January 1, 1933 through June 30, 1934.

²⁶Kirkpatrick has pointed out this danger. See E. L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

The trend in the amount of Federal aid per consumption unit throughout the family cycle should be noted in relation to that for net cash income on the same basis (Chart 2).²⁷ One would expect a decrease in earned income from one stage to the next to result in an increase in Federal aid. This is the case in the period when the oldest child is under five, earned income in relation to the consumption needs of the family decreasing and Federal aid on the same basis increasing slightly. This inverse relationship is even more striking in the final stage. Furthermore, families in the period when the oldest child is 25 or over show an increase in earned income over that of families in the preceding stage and a decrease in Federal aid. All of these relationships are to be expected. However, between the time when the oldest child passes the age of five and the time when he reaches the age of 24, earned income per consumption unit is consistently decreasing, while Federal aid on the same basis is also decreasing. It would appear that here is the period in the family cycle when the shoe pinches most from the point of view of cash available for family living.

But, as has been noted, home-use

²⁷The differences between the means for the sub-groups are large enough to be highly significant, with the exception of the difference between Stage I and the first sub-group in Stage II.

²⁸It should be noted that net cash income data are for the year 1933, while Federal aid figures are for the eighteen-month period, January, 1933, through June, 1934. However, since the amount of income in 1933 would materially affect the need for relief during the following six months as well as during the earning period, it is believed that this comparison is valid.

production is increasing during this period of family development and net wealth is being accumulated. There is evidence that certain psycho-social advantages are accruing to the families during this period of increasing family size.²⁸ Loomis has pointed out some of the non-economic values possessed by farm families during these stages.²⁹ Numerous studies of desertion and divorce have shown that disintegration of the family is much less likely at this time in the family's history. Further points are made below regarding the greater stability of residence of families in these particular phases of the family cycle.

Summarizing, it appears that the stage in family development when these dependent farmers are most in need of cash is when the oldest child in the home is just reaching maturity. This is the stage in which there may be several youth in the family. Rehabilitation programs should take this significant factor into account and rural youth should have a definite part in any such program.

To some extent one may expect families in which the net cash income in 1933 was lowest, in relation to the consumption needs of the family, to have accepted Federal aid sooner

than families with relatively larger earned income. Except for the fact that families without children in Stage I went on relief in large proportions sooner than would be justified on this basis, the expectation is fulfilled. Although young couples with no children had by far the largest net cash income per consumption unit, the proportion who received Federal aid as early as 1932 was 10.6 per cent larger than was the case with families just entering Stage II, and a smaller proportion remained independent until 1934.³⁰ Here is another indication that families without children may be more prone to enjoy individualistic pleasures and may have less resistance against economic difficulties. However, this is mentioned only as an hypothesis, especially since Whetten has reached just the opposite conclusion in a study of rural relief families in Connecticut.³¹

As the age of the oldest child at home increases, and, as we have seen, the amount of net cash income per consumption unit decreases, families more frequently sought assistance at an early date. When the age of the oldest child is more than 15 and approaches 24, the tendency for fam-

²⁸Loomis has shown that family size increases consistently from Stage I, through Stage II and into Stage III until the oldest child reaches the age group 20 through 24. See C. P. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 12. For similar findings see E. L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, *op. cit.*, p. 2; C. E. Lively, *op. cit.*, p. 16; N. L. Whetten and Others, *Rural Families on Relief in Connecticut*, Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 215, 1937, p. 51; C. P. Loomis and C. Horace Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

²⁹C. P. Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-61.

³⁰N. L. Whetten and Others, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-52.

ilies to go on relief relatively early in the Federal aid program becomes less noticeable. Then, when the oldest child has reached 25 and earned income in relation to the family's consumption needs takes a sharp upturn, the proportion of families receiving Federal aid early in the program decreases. Finally, in Stage IV with no children remaining in the home, the families were forced to ask for assistance sooner.³²

Stability of Residence

Up to a certain point, stability of residence for a farm family is highly desirable from both an economic and a social point of view. As movement from farm to farm is generally thought to be too rapid among farm tenants in the South, it may be well to examine the relation between stability of residence and the family cycle among these farm tenants on relief. In this analysis, families other than tenants are omitted.

As the tenant families pass from one stage to another in the family cycle, they seem to achieve greater stability of residence.³³ This is inferred from the fact that those in the early period of family development have been on the present farm a smaller median number of years. Generally speaking, as the age of the

³²The differences here noted are large enough to be highly significant.

³³For similar findings, see E. L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, *op. cit.*, p. 24; W. F. Kumlein and Others, *The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935*, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, 1938, p. 46.

oldest child at home increases, the median number of years on the present farm increases, as indicated by 2.1 years for the first period of Stage II and 2.9 years for the first period of Stage III. This is consistent until the oldest child reaches maturity, at which point stability of residence appears to weaken slightly. Nothing can be said with certainty concerning the stability of residence of families in Stages I or IV as the number of cases is too small for statistical analysis. However, inspection of the interview schedules for these few families indicates that those in Stage I are inclined to be very mobile, possibly somewhat more mobile than families in Stage II. Those in Stage IV appear to be relatively stable, somewhat comparable to families in Stage III.

Searching for explanations of the above findings, one should realize that in the young, growing family several shifts from farm to farm are often desirable in order to adjust the size of farming operations to the changing size of family. As the length of farming experience of the tenant increases, his stability of residence also increases.³⁴ It may be, then, that this is a concealed factor explaining the increasing stability as the family progresses through the life cycle. To test this possibility, the material has been analyzed according to the number of years the head has farmed. It is found that stability of residence does increase as the number of years

³⁴This fact is clearly shown in unpublished material in the files of Dr. B. O. Williams, Department of Sociology, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

farmed by the family head increases, as indicated by medians of 2.2 years on the present farm for those with less than 10 years experience and 2.8 years for those with 19 or more years experience. However, among families the heads of which have farmed less than 10 years, those in Stage II of family development are more mobile than those in Stage III, the respective median number of years on present farm being 2.2 and 2.4. The same is true for families in which the head has farmed between 10 and 19 years, the medians being 2.3 years for Stage II and 3.0 years for Stage III. Only in the group who have farmed the longest period of time is the reverse found, and here the number of families found in Stage II will always be very small. This seems to be proof enough that mere length of time in farming is not sufficient explanation for the increasing stability in each stage of family development until the oldest child reaches maturity.

A more likely explanation seems to be that, as the family reaches its peak size in the middle of Stage III, it acquires more of the characteristics of familism. There are more internal ties of responsibility and dependency to keep the family solidary. Such a family will more likely please a landlord and not be requested to leave the place. Such a family should also be in a better bargaining position to rent a good farm on which a relatively satisfactory living can be made. The result would logically be a tenant family relatively stable in residence.

Summary

In the development cycle of any farm family from its origin to its final period, certain stages may be delineated. It has been shown in other studies that these stages have a distinct influence upon certain structural and behavioral characteristics of families. The family life cycle may be studied through historical analysis or by the cross-section method. The latter procedure is used in this study of farm families on relief in North Carolina.

In the absence of a non-relief control group, the study of North Carolina farm families by Loomis must be largely relied upon for comparable data. With some exceptions, his methods employed in analyzing the data as related to the family life cycle are similar to those used here. Comparison of findings in the present study with those in the study by Loomis indicate that by and large these farm families on relief are normal in so far as the process of the family life cycle is concerned. Among families of the present study, the various relations found between certain stages of family development and selected structural and behavioral characteristics are quite similar to those found by Loomis.

In the family life cycle, Stage I is composed of young childless couples. In this stage, families in the lower ranking tenure groups are over-represented in the sample here studied. There is little net wealth and production of food for home consumption is not extensive relative to the

needs of the family. Although these young couples earn much more net cash income per consumption unit than do families in other stages, they accepted Federal aid earlier and in larger amounts per consumption unit, with the exception of families in the final stage. Weak vitality in resisting economic difficulties is exhibited. A relatively high rate of mobility among tenants is indicated.

As these farm families progress through Stages II and III, the period from the time the first child is born until the last child leaves the home, the proportion in the higher ranking tenure groups increases and more net wealth is accumulated. Home-use production also increases. However, ability to meet family needs with cash income declines, probably because of the increasing number of children. Also the amount of Federal aid received per consumption unit declines. From an immediate and purely economic point of view, these families apparently feel the pinch of hard times more than do the others. The period in the family cycle when this situation is most pronounced is from the time the oldest child is 10 years of age until he reaches 24. Relief authorities evidently fail to recognize the increasing needs as the family progresses through this period of development. However, this is when the family is attaining its maximum size and there are indications also that it

is a period of increasing family solidarity. As noted above, the extent of production of food for home consumption increases in relation to the needs of the family. Stability of residence among tenants increases noticeably, this possibly indicating that families in this period are best able to please the landlord or are in a better bargaining position to rent a good farm on which they can be satisfied. The shiftless character so often attributed to Southern tenant farmers seems to apply less to this group than to tenant families in other stages of family development.

Stage IV, the final period in the family cycle when no children remain in the home, is definitely a weaker period, as one would expect. Although these families are able as a rule to hold their relatively high tenure status and accumulated net wealth and are not inclined to be mobile, their net cash income per consumption unit is low and their dependence upon Federal aid rather high. Their best resource probably is to combine with an offspring's family in an earlier stage of family development. But more and more this procedure of combining several generations into one family is disappearing from the mores of the people, even in Southern agriculture recognized as one of the last strongholds of familism in this country.

Patterns of Crime In a Rural South Dakota County

By John Useem* and Marie Waldner**

ABSTRACT

Comparatively little is known about the dynamic factors producing crime in rural society. Previous research largely has been confined to the comparison of rural with urban crime rates. This study seeks to examine the patterns of crime in terms of their social setting. In a rural area, relatively untouched by urbanization, a survey of offenders during the past fifty years reveals delinquency is growing in excess of population increase. There is a high incidence of criminality among town people, certain ethnic groupings, the divorced and unmarried, and the young. These are reflections of the roles which members of these strata occupy in the local social order. Communities have little insight into the factors producing criminality, and regard each delinquent as a case of personal demoralization. The administration of justice is attuned to punishment rather than to prevention or rehabilitation. Crime in a rural society requires analysis in the context of rural life rather than merely through comparison with urban patterns.

Se sabe poco comparativamente sobre los factores dinámicos productores de crímenes en la sociedad rural. Estudios anteriores se han limitado mayormente a la comparación de las proporciones de crímenes rurales y urbanas. Este estudio tiende a examinar los crímenes desde el punto de vista del fondo social. En una área rural poco afectada por la urbanización, una muestra de ofensores durante las últimas 50 años revela que la delincuencia ha aumentado en exceso del aumento de población. Hay gran incidencia criminal entre los habitantes de pueblos, ciertos grupos étnicos, los divorciados, solteros, y los jóvenes. Esto refleja el papel que los miembros de estas clases hacen en el orden social local. Las comunidades se dan muy poca cuenta de los factores productores de crímenes, y considera cada delincuente como un caso de desmoralización personal. La administración de la justicia se preocupa más por el castigo que por prevenir los crímenes. El crimen en una sociedad rural requiere un análisis con relación al medio social mas bien que para ser comparado con la incidencia urbana.

Despite the observation of students of social problems that crime is increasing in rural America,¹ there has been comparatively little research in this field. With a few notable exceptions,² inquiries into rural criminality have been confined largely to comparing its extent and form with those of urban areas. Most studies focus on

crime as a function of urbanization with little analysis of the dynamic forces at work in rural society producing criminality.³

This study seeks to examine the patterns of crime in a rural area that is relatively untouched by urbanization. The unit of exploration is Hutchinson County located in southeastern

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¹For recent statements see, Carl M. Rosengquist, *Social Problems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940), p. 202 and Bruce Smith, *Police Systems in the United States* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940), p. 38.

²See, for examples, Kate Holladay Claghorn, *Juvenile Delinquency in Rural New York* (U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau Publication No. 32, 1918); James Mickel Williams, *Our Rural Heritage* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), p. 174-184; and Arthur L. Wood, *Social Organization and Crime: The Etiology of Crime in Small Communities of Wisconsin* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1940).

South Dakota. Its total population is reported in the 1940 Census as 12,668.⁴ Two-thirds of the group live on farms and the remainder in small towns, none of which exceeds 1,300 in size. The criminal population is defined as the residents of Hutchinson County⁵ convicted by the local County,⁶ Circuit, or Federal District Courts of having committed either a misdemeanor or felony in the County.⁷

⁴For an incisive presentation of this point of view see John F. Vuillenmeier, "A Comparative Study of New York City and Country Criminals," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XI: 528-530 (1921). It does not follow that such research is futile; see the studies reported in P. A. Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York: Henry Holt, 1929), p. 370-401; in Walter C. Reckless, *Criminal Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1940), p. 81-85; and in George B. Vold, "Crime in City and Country Areas," *The Annals* 217: 38-45 (September, 1941).

⁵The population in 1890, the first year covered by this inquiry, was 10,469. It increased to the high of 13,904 in 1930 and then fell off during the next decade.

⁶There were 64 cases of non-residents convicted of offenses in Hutchinson County. Their deletion was made in order to concentrate on an intensive examination of the major stratum of the criminal population, i.e., the resident group. The non-resident offenders are worthy of research for they (though only 14 per cent of the criminal population) make up a unique and yet integral part of the total configuration.

⁷Justice of the Peace Court records were omitted. In consequence there is a bias in the form of under-representation of misdemeanors and the volume of crimes. This decision was made because of the unreliability of their records. Although the statutes of the State require two different governmental agencies to check these records to insure their completeness and permanence, many have been destroyed or lost while some of the Justice of the Peace officers have made no pretense of keeping any records.

Extent of Crime During the Past Fifty Years

Between 1890 and 1940, there was a total of 382 court convictions for criminal acts committed by residents. Of these cases, 9.7 per cent were offenses against persons, 28.3 per cent were violations of property rights, and 62.0 per cent were acts against the public.⁸ In order of their frequency, among crimes against the person, sex offenses ranked first; larceny was the commonest crime against property; and liquor law violations and failure to send children to school constituted most of the crimes against the public.

The per cent of the total population convicted of crime rose steadily from the 1890-1900 period to an all time high between 1920-1930 and then slightly receded in the following ten years. Crime increased at a greater rate than population growth. Certain factors have an important bearing upon this increase. In the earlier years there were fewer legal restrictions on human behavior, hence there were fewer laws that could be violated. The enactment in later years of measures running counter to the local mores had a pronounced influence upon crime trends. The Eighteenth Amendment was such a law. Between its ratification in 1919 and its repeal in 1933, 104 of the 244 offenders convicted during this period

⁸Hutchinson County residents convicted of crime in other regions are not included because of the difficulty of a nation-wide canvass of former residents.

⁹The *South Dakota Compiled Laws of 1929* divides crime into these three classes.

were liquor law violators. The facilities for committing offenses and for dealing with infringements were meager in the early period. Before the motor vehicle became the common mode of transportation, restricted mobility limited the possibility of undertaking certain types of crime. It was also more difficult for the law-enforcement agencies to hear of crimes and to apprehend offenders. Pioneer folk preferred to deal with cases of lawlessness outside the courts. Discipline in the home, in the church, or in the neighborhood itself, frequently took the place of a court procedure; only the more serious offenders were brought into court. In recent years, law officers are often called upon for minor offenses. This shift in role is partially revealed in the types of cases handled by the courts during the last few decades. The ratio of misdemeanors to felonies was .28 to 1 in the first half of the fifty year period as compared with .40 to 1 for the second half.

There was a marked change, too, in the kind of crimes committed. In terms of all offenses, crimes of personal violence dropped from 52 to 7 per cent while crimes against the public rose from 22 to 65 per cent. Unlike other rural areas, the proportion of property crimes remained relatively constant.⁹ The growth of offenses against the public is explained partially in terms of the changes in the relationship of the local groups to

⁹The slight increase from 26 to 28 per cent of property offenses when tested for significance of difference was found to be explainable in terms of chance.

the State as a whole. When the first foreign-born immigrants arrived in Hutchinson County, they found no native, dominant population with functioning institutions and established codes of behavior. This meant that each immigrant group perpetuated its own norms, seeing little in other groups' traits worthy of following. The poor farming practices of the few local "Yankees" made them a despised lot that no other group sought to emulate.¹⁰ But in the State as a whole, Yankees were in control of governmental affairs and embodied their standards into State statutes. Conflict ensued. Issues such as the use of liquor and compulsory school attendance led to clashes and to the conviction of many local persons for crimes against the public.¹¹ Several of the ethnic groups considered education essential only for ministers and teachers, and felt time spent in school by children to be a superfluity. Hence many failed or refused to send their children to school and were deemed law-violators.

Differential Influences of Towns and Farms Upon Criminal Behavior

Approximately one-third of Hutchinson County's inhabitants live in towns. In earlier years the rate of crime was higher among farm than town population; in recent years the

¹⁰Poor farming practices and even unkempt town places are commonly referred to as "Yankee ways."

¹¹For a succinct description of this process, see Constantine M. Panunzio, "The Foreign Born's Reaction to Prohibition," *Sociology and Social Research*, VIII: 223-228 (1934).

crime rate of the towns has been twice that of the agricultural areas. This is in part due to the fact that the newer types of crimes, *e.g.* violation of liquor and compulsory school attendance laws, are under closer scrutiny of law-enforcing agencies in towns. As was earlier noted, offenses which are increasing most rapidly are crimes against the public and there is a higher incidence of this type of crime among town than farm people, as can be seen in Table 1.

A greater per cent of adults are married among farm than town people. In the farm areas, marriage occurs earlier and on the average lasts longer; in addition, there are fewer divorced women and men. These factors mean that more adults are subject to family control on the farms.¹³ That this control is more effective than in the towns is evidenced by the fact that a third again more of those who were convicted of crime in the towns were married than among the farm group.

TABLE 1. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF TOWN AND FARM POPULATION COMMITTING CRIMES BY TYPE OF OFFENSE, HUTCHINSON COUNTY: 1890-1940

Crime Committed Against	Percent of Town Population	Percent of Farm Population
Person	0.44	0.22
Property	1.61	0.53
Public	3.06	1.17

Differences in age composition, proportion married, and community cohesiveness between town and farm groups are contributing factors to the differential crime rate. Earlier town settlements consisted of homogeneous family units with common cultural backgrounds and strong, community-wide bonds. In later years, they became more heterogeneous, attracting young, unmarried boys and girls with a variety of traditions from neighboring farms. This portion of the age population has a high rate of crime.¹² The impact of town life upon the young adult is revealed in the fact that 21 per cent of the town's criminals and only 13 per cent of the farm's criminals are under the age of twenty. With the advance in age, town-farm differences shrink and disappear in the older age groups.

¹²See section, "Role of Age."

The Impact of Ethnic Groupings

In this comparatively isolated, rural area, ethnic traditions influence nearly every aspect of life, including crime. When the amount of crime committed by each ethnic group is considered in relation to that group's proportion in the general population, the rate is highest for German-Russians,¹⁴ and lowest for the German-Catholics. This is shown in Table 2.

The low incidence of crime among the German-Catholics can be traced

¹³See section, "Relationship of Marital Status to Criminality."

¹⁴The German-Russian category includes a few whose ancestors came directly from Germany, although most of their forefathers had migrated from Germany to Russia and then to the United States. All of them are Protestants, though not all of the same denomination. They are classified as one group because they live together, intermarry, and share the same general cultural patterns.

TABLE 2. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL AND CRIMINAL POPULATIONS BY ETHNIC GROUPS, HUTCHINSON COUNTY: 1890-1940

Ethnic Groups	Percent of General Population	Percent of Criminal Population
German-Russians	54.7	61.0
Hungarian-Catholics	2.2	2.4
Mennonites ¹⁵	13.2	13.6
Scandinavians	2.7	2.6
Pennsylvania-Dutch	2.6	2.1
German-Catholics	11.2	4.2
Others and Unknown	13.4	14.1
TOTALS	100.0	100.0

to a number of factors. The group came directly from the more strictly disciplined German States of the Rhineland. Unlike the German-Russians and Mennonites, they had not experienced the disorganizing influence of several migrations. Upon coming to this County, they settled in a compact area in the northwestern corner and established two large, highly-organized, Catholic parishes with well-attended parochial schools. Then, too, behavior frowned upon by the more puritanical elements in the general population is considered normal by German-Catholics. For example, moderate drinking, dancing and card playing are integral parts of community life and are participated in by the whole family. Partaking in such activities does not outlaw the individual from his group, produces no mental conflict, provides no occasion for bravado resulting from disregard of taboos, and eliminates futile trips into marginal environments for entertainment.

¹⁵Although these Mennonites also have a German-Russian background, they have settled in more or less compact areas and have had cultural patterns distinctly different from those here called German-Russians. The majority have also had a Hutterite background in Europe.

The German-Russians, in contrast to the German-Catholics, have the highest criminal rate of all the ethnic groupings. It is to be noted that 76 per cent of their crimes were misdemeanors. Moreover, as seen in Table 3, 69 per cent of their offenses were against the public. On further examination it is found that most of these offenses were committed by middle-aged persons and were violations of liquor statutes during the prohibition period and fines for failure to send children to school. Status among the older generation of German-Russians is achieved more by adherence to the norms of the ethnic group than by conformance to the codes of society as a whole. A deviant from the German-Russian ways is quickly disciplined but there is no loss of prestige for failure to comply with laws superimposed from above by the State.

The high rate of property crimes among Mennonites as shown in Table 3 is significant. An examination of the value system of the Mennonites reveals a heavy emphasis on land ownership and frugality.¹⁶ Although

¹⁶See John D. Unruh, "The Mennonites in South Dakota," *South Dakota Historical Review*, II: 147-170 (1937).

TABLE 3. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS BY TYPE OF CRIME, HUTCHINSON COUNTY: 1890-1940

Ethnic Groups	Crime Committed Against			Totals
	Person	Property	Public	
German-Russians	8.2	22.8	69.0	100.0
Hungarian-Catholics	0.0	22.2	77.8	100.0
Mennonites	14.0	46.0	40.0	100.0
Scandinavians	10.0	10.0	80.0	100.0
Pennsylvania-Dutch	37.0	38.0	25.0	100.0

it was common to refer to the overzealous person whose acquisitiveness led him into extra-legal activities as an *unverschomper* man, high status was accorded to the individual with property gained through any procedure, lawful or unlawful. This pattern can be traced back to the Old-World peasant attitude condoning the appropriation of property from the more affluent as a method of gaining goods which were forbidden by law.¹⁷ The group also has had elaborate puritanical concepts in certain spheres of life.¹⁸ During the early years when church discipline was the primary means of social control within the group, lack of premarital chastity, "worldliness" in dress, participation in tabooed entertainment, possession of musical instruments or firearms, and smoking constituted the bulk of the disciplinary cases. Appropriating property of others was a "private" matter, the offense usually being handled within the family

where it was punished, ignored or justified, depending upon the attitude of the household. In recent years, although "inviting things to come along" had generally met with disapproval in the community, it is still not a violation of the most sacred mores.

A striking dissimilarity in the extent of criminality within ethnic groups between those living on farms and in towns is evident. Thus Mennonites have a greater proportion of their farm population convicted of offenses than of their town residents. Holding constant the factor of size, the degree of criminality is more than twice as great among farm people. The larger number of Hutterischen-Mennonites on farms and Swiss-Mennonites in town and the older age of the town group, many of whom are retired farmers, are clues to the marked divergence. Hungarian-Catholics have the reverse pattern—a greater percentage of their town population being convicted than of their farm group. Again holding constant size, the proportion of criminals is 55 per cent higher among town people. Examination of the types of crimes committed by Hungarian-Catholics reveals that over three-fourths of their offenses are acts which are more readily apprehended.

¹⁷For a discussion of this in the area from which the Mennonites migrated, see James Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia* (London: E. P. Dutton, 1914), Vol. II, p. 261-262. J. M. Williams traces the carry-over of this pattern into rural America in *Our Rural Heritage*, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

¹⁸See S. Joachim, "Toward an Understanding of the Russia Germans," *Concordia College Occasional Papers*, I: 1-26 (August, 1939).

hended in town—crimes against the public. This is also true of other ethnic groupings. Thus Scandinavians, with 80 per cent of their offenses being crimes against the public, have 85 per cent more criminality in towns. Those groups with comparatively low percentages of crimes against the public, such as the Pennsylvania Dutch, have an average of two-thirds again as much criminality on farms.

Relationship of Marital Status To Criminality

In proportion to their number in the County, the divorced have by far the highest crime rate and the widowed the lowest. The single and the married appear in the offender group in proportion to their size in the total population.¹⁹

Other studies report the criminality of the widowed and of the di-

vided in town—crimes against the public. This is also true of other ethnic groupings. Thus Scandinavians, with 80 per cent of their offenses being crimes against the public, have 85 per cent more criminality in towns. Those groups with comparatively low percentages of crimes against the public, such as the Pennsylvania Dutch, have an average of two-thirds again as much criminality on farms.

ity can be explained by reference to the statuses of the various marital groups in an isolated rural society. Thus a widowed person in an agricultural area is much more under the control of primary groups than is the case in cities and hence is more law-abiding. The single in the rural areas of the Great Plains have an excess of males and consequently a substantial proportion of them never marry.²¹ The unmarried adult male is not, however, an unattached individual, mobile and free of social control, for the patriarchal family system of this region exercises continuing family control. He resides with his parental family, works on their farm and participates in social life as a member of that group. Community opinion in this area continues to regard divorce as a grave violation of the mores and only the extreme deviant secures one.

TABLE 4. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL AND CRIMINAL POPULATION AGED 18 AND OVER BY MARITAL STATUS, HUTCHINSON COUNTY: 1890-1940

Marital Status	Percent of General Population 18 and Over	Percent of Criminal Population 18 and Over
Divorced	0.30	3.36
Single	27.56	29.16
Married	67.45	65.03
Widowed	4.69	2.45
TOTALS	100.00	100.00

vorced as above the married; here the widowed are lower and the divorced many times higher.²⁰ The dissimilar-

¹⁹The critical ratios for the observed differences between the general population and the criminal population were significant for the widowed and divorced and not significant for the other two categories.

²⁰See Gustav Aschaffenburg, *Crime and Its Repression* (Boston, 1913), p. 162-168; and John L. Gillin, *Criminology and Penology* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1935), p. 51-52.

²¹W. F. Kumlien, *Basic Trends of Social Change in South Dakota: Population Tendencies* (South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 327, 1939), p. 43-48.

Divorcés have low prestige, are omitted from "respectable society," and usually find marginal persons their only source of companionship. In such circumstances, it is not surprising to discover that their rate of criminality not only exceeds that of the married, but is substantially greater than that of divorced persons in cities.

While offenses against the person rank lowest for all groups, crimes against the public are the chief law violations of the married, divorced and widowed. The single commit most often acts against property. The difference in age between marital groups is one of the main reasons for such dissimilarities. The married, for example, have a higher mean age than have the single. When this variable is held constant by taking only those from 30 to 50, the difference between their rates of committing acts against the public is not statistically significant.

Role of Age

The volume of juvenile delinquency is increasing at a more rapid rate than the growth of crime in the adult population.²² This increase began in the early Nineteen-twenties and has continued down to the present. Among the youngest group, those between 10 and 15, recent years have witnessed a greater quickening in the rate of delinquency than for any other section of youth below 25. Between 1930 and 1935, the number of delinquents doubled and the period 1935-40 has five times as many as the preceding five years. This is in

contrast to the trend for urbanized areas of the country which displays no sharp increase in recent years.²³ This trend may be traced in part to the lessening of primary group control over children in the last few years. Although the family system of this area preserved its traditional solidarity when other regions were undergoing secularization, it is now beginning to experience the disorganization that accompanies such change.

Despite the growth in juvenile delinquency, the two age groups with the highest proportion of crime in comparison to their numbers in the general population are young adults between 20 and 25 and the middle-aged from 45 to 55.²⁴ The crimes of the former group are primarily offenses against property, whereas those of the latter are largely offenses against the public. The varying rates are shown in Table V.

Professional Criminality

To what extent is the average offender an habitual criminal, a member of a gang regularly engaged in illegal activities as a way of gaining a living? Compared to urban criminals, the rate of recidivism is low²⁵—only

²²For a similar observation of another rural area see Robert D. Leeper, "A Study of Delinquency in Thirty Counties of Idaho," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XVI: 386-436 (1925).

²³Walter C. Reckless and Mapheus Smith, *Juvenile Delinquency* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1932), p. 22-29.

²⁴The critical ratios for these two groups are over 3.

²⁵Urban rates are approximately 45 per cent. See Federal Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Department of Justice, *Uniform Crime Reports*, X: 212 (1939).

TABLE 5. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL AND CRIMINAL POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS, HUTCHINSON COUNTY: 1890-1940

Age	Percent of General Population	Percent of Criminal Population
10-14.9	14.99	4.17
15-19.9	14.08	10.70
20-24.9	12.05	15.99
25-29.9	10.19	13.60
30-34.9	9.26	12.80
35-44.9	16.24	17.86
45-54.9	10.42	18.15
55-64.9	6.66	6.55
65-74.9	4.34	0.18
75 and over	1.77	0.00
TOTALS	100.00	100.00

13 per cent of the criminals having been convicted more than once. Offenses against the public were the most common types of convictions in recidivism cases, 70 per cent having such records. Twenty-four per cent were reconvicted for crimes against property and 6 per cent for crimes against persons. Local public opinion severely condemns crimes of passion but is relatively indifferent concerning offenses which jeopardize the general public welfare as defined by law.

Farm people were reconvicted as often as town criminals. Differences in the rate of recidivism by ethnic groups were evident. Among German-Catholics, only 7 per cent of the criminals repeated their crimes, among German-Russians, Scandinavians, and Mennonites, the rates of recidivism were between 12 and 15 per cent.

As might be anticipated, criminal activity in a rural area is seldom of an organized gang type; in only 24 per cent of the cases were two or

more persons known to be involved in the same crime. There is, however, a trend for offenders to operate together. In the last two decades the number of known criminal accomplices has increased, at a rate in excess of the growth in the number of offenders. In terms of the number of accomplices, two offenders operating together was the most common combination. The larger the group, the younger the average age. In cases of two accomplices, the average age was 23; for three, 21; and for four, 19.

Most of the associates in crime were formed among persons residing in towns. Three-fourths of the accomplices were German-Russians and Mennonites; over half of the groups consisted exclusively of one ethnic background and 63 per cent were predominantly of one ethnic group. In recent years, associates have tended to consist of mixed ethnic groups as external symbols of differences have disappeared and recognized common interests emerged.

Community Life and Crime

To what extent are the members of the various communities aware of the patterns of crime and actively engaged in controlling delinquents? Interviewing representative local public officials, including those engaged in the administration of justice, businessmen, and school teachers, revealed that the communities had little insight into the nature of local crime.²⁶ In the town with the highest rate of crime in the County, community leaders stated that it was less troubled by such matters than any place in the whole area. In most communities, condemning and forbidding are deemed adequate techniques for securing conformance of individuals. The delinquent is thought to be inherently perverse and in no way the product of community life.²⁷

In no community are constables or marshals trained in police work. Their wages are equivalent to that of unskilled workers in the locality. Chief qualifications for employment consist of a "good reputation" as a sober citizen, need of a job, and loyalty to the political faction in power. Few have more than a grade school education, many have never read the statutes.²⁸ Most of them described

their roles as consisting of routine handling of public nuisances by temporary jailing and of aiding in the commitment of offenders to the State institutions. Law enforcement is tempered by the status of the offender, the affluent often being handled outside of court while those from "across the tracks" being jailed and held for trial. The theory given by local officials for their actions is that the former come from good stock and are not criminals by nature, whereas the latter are products of the worst elements and must be punished to be deterred from further offenses.²⁹

The lack of recreation in the family, church and community that appeals to the younger generation has led them to patronize "hang-outs" such as taverns, pool-rooms, and certain side-streets in towns. The old folks dominate the primary groups and see no value in newer ways of spending leisure time,³⁰ insisting that the traditional forms of recreation are adequate. The findings of a survey fifteen years ago of this same locality are still true: "In the small towns and rural districts little has been done to provide recreation for the children."³¹

²⁶Paul Vogt makes a similar observation in his survey of crime in two rural counties. *Introduction to Rural Sociology* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1917), p. 203.

²⁷See Edward N. Clopper, "Rural Child Delinquency," *Survey*, XVI: 607-608 (1921); and Frank Tannenbaum, *Crime and the Community* (New York: Ginn, 1938), p. 3-23 for descriptions of this type of logic.

²⁸See Bruce Smith, *Rural Crime Control* (New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1933) for a detailed portrayal that applies to this area with but few minor variations.

²⁹Applicable here is the discussion by Edwin H. Sutherland, "White-Collar Criminity," *American Sociological Review*, V: 1-12 (1940).

³⁰See Paul Landis, "Problems of Farm Youth—A Point of View," *Social Forces*, XVIII: 500-509 (1940).

³¹*Dependent and Delinquent Children in North and South Dakota* (U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau Publication No. 160, 1926), p. 93.

Conclusions

Misconduct in this area is largely a product of the clash between the ascribed norms of conduct and the inability of various sections of the population to fulfill them. Thus the high proportion of offenses against the public is the result of conflicts between the mores of local ethnic groups and the codes ascribed by the State. Similarly, the growth of delinquency in certain strata of the population can be traced to the cleavage between the traditional values of the adults who control the communities and the

more secular ways of such groups as youth.

These conclusions are illustrative of the findings made possible through a contextual analysis of crime in rural life. This logic applies equally to other fields of rural research such as social stratification, minority groups, mental disorders, housing and health. If criminality in this locality had been studied in the traditional style of comparing the rates with those of urban areas little would have been revealed about the dynamic factors producing delinquency in this rural area.

Farmers' Attitudes To Farm Programs

By David Ross Jenkins*

ABSTRACT

A representative sample of farmers in Edgefield County, South Carolina was questioned about fifteen operating or suggested programs directly or indirectly affecting agriculture. The responses were rated by the schedule-takers on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly disapprove" to "strongly approve." Clusters of individuals reacted in a similar manner to certain groups of questions. For example, one cluster strongly favored youth programs, old-age assistance, and land-use planning but was neutral towards live-at-home programs. Another cluster strongly opposed all programs except cover crops and conservation payments, and so on. A statistical technique is applied here to identify the patterns of response in detail. Background traits that explain the cluster-blocks are examined.

Se interrogó una muestra representativa de labradores del condado de Edgefield sobre quince programas vigentes o sugeridos que afectan la agricultura directa o indirectamente. Los interrogadores tabularon las respuestas en una escala de cinco puntos que variaba de "completamente opuesto" a completamente a favor." La reacción de ciertos grupos de individuos fué semejante en el caso de ciertos grupos de preguntas. Por ejemplo, un grupo favoreció completamente programas de juventud, de asistencia a la vejez, y de proyectos para el uso de la tierra, pero se mantuvo indiferente hacia los programas concierentes a la vida en el hogar. Otro grupo se opuso completamente a todos los programas excepto al del subsidio de la conservación del terreno y de la siembra de plantas benéficas al terreno, y así por el estilo. Aquí se aplica una técnica estadística para identificar los modelos de respuestas en detalle. Se examinan también los rasgos de fondo que explican la formación de grupos.

It is possible to take the schedules of an opinion survey and identify by simple inspection some groupings, clusters, or "parties" among the respondents. The schedule-taker himself frequently forms a rough classification as he goes along. Few individuals respond to a set of questions in an entirely original manner, and the repetitions and agreements begin to form patterns in the mind of the man who asks the questions so that he feels able to anticipate the answers to some extent. Are these subjective groupings of any value? Can such clusters of respondents be identified in an objective way from the completed schedules? The graphical-statistical technique of "cluster-bloc analysis" is applied here in an attempt to identify from the schedules patterns that are too large and too intricate for recognition by subjective methods or by the simple process of inspection. The data were gathered in Edgefield County, South Carolina, in the spring and early summer of 1941.**

The purpose of the analysis is to determine whether farmers can be classified into fairly homogeneous groups or blocs on the basis of their

responses to a number of questions on agricultural and related programs. It is recognized that there are, in fact, no organized "parties" corresponding to these groupings in Edgefield County. It is likely that the farmers themselves are unaware of alignments that exist. However, if these questions should become the subject of controversy or conflict, it can be said with some confidence that the organization of like-thinking people into parties would follow the lines of the blocs described here. A knowledge of the "anatomy of opinion" on agricultural programs and also the identity of persons who form the core of certain blocs may be useful to the agencies developing agricultural programs.

Field-interviewing to obtain farmers' opinions calls for skill and understanding on the part of the interviewer, and this practically excludes the use of a large sample. Thus a 10 per cent sample of farm operators already selected for economic and sociological studies in Edgefield County was adopted for the survey of attitudes. Almost all the farms in Edgefield County grow some cotton, consequently the AAA list of contract-signers contains the names of about 98 per cent of all farm operators. For the purpose of sampling, the remaining thirty or forty farmers not cooperating with the AAA were omitted because their names and addresses were unknown. The contract numbers representing the 1714 operators were transferred to cardboard discs and thoroughly mixed. From this universe 171 discs were drawn at

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** The project on farmers' attitudes, of which this study presents a part, was conducted under a cooperative arrangement between the South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station and the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, USDA. Carl C. Taylor and Raymond F. Sletto of the Division advised the Experiment Station staff in the establishment of the project. Field work was done by M. Taylor Matthews, USDA, assisted by R. F. Anderson of Clemson Agricultural College.

random and the farm operators thus selected constituted the sample.

Extensive tests were made to determine the reliability of the sample before field interviewing began. From AAA records information was obtained on each sample farm and a comparison made between the sample and the universe. Comparison was also made with Census data for the whole county. It was found by the chi-square test that the differences between sample and universe, in tenure, color, source of loans, size of farm, and location by townships were well within the limits expected in random sampling. The close fit on the traits mentioned led to the conclusion that this was a highly representative sample. Nine cases out of the 171 were lost in the interviewing stage. Two of the families had moved to live with relations. One operator had gone to the Army. Another operator (a widow) had gone to nursing school. One farm was abandoned. One operator was deaf and dumb, and two refused to be interviewed.

The attitudes of the farmers were sought on fifteen topics. These items are classified as follows:

- (a) *Agricultural programs conducted or sponsored by federal agencies*
 - 1. Allotting farmers a definite acreage for cotton and other crops
 - 2. Planting winter cover crops on land to be in cotton next spring
 - 3. Government loans to farmers for seed and crop production
 - 4. Terracing hilly land to prevent erosion
 - 5. Government purchase of sub-marginal land for forests

- 6. Live-at-home programs
- 7. Government loans to help tenant farmers to become owners
- 8. Government payments for soil conserving crops
- 9. Land-use Planning
- (b) *Activities of local or cooperative agencies*
 - 10. School bus transportation
 - 11. CCC programs
 - 12. Old-age assistance
 - 13. Tax-assessment practices
- (c) *Non-agency programs or proposals*
 - 14. Transfer, by sale, of cotton allotments
 - 15. Activities and programs for young people in this locality.

The expressed attitudes of the farmers are described as "positive," "neutral," and "negative" to indicate approval, indecision, and disapproval. Table I is a tabulation showing the combined responses.

In making a simple tabulation such as Table I some relationships are lost. Once the Hollerith cards have been placed in the machine, the pattern of responses possessed by each individual is broken up. A farmer who favored 14 government programs and opposed one would have his one negative response tabulated with other negative responses, without regard to the part that the response played in the individual's configuration of responses. The single negative response would carry as much weight as other negative ones made, perhaps, by farmers who opposed all programs. This problem arises sharply in an analysis of background traits. Using simple tabulation, conclusions about

TABLE 1. OPINIONS ON 15 PROGRAMS EXPRESSED BY 163 SAMPLE FARMERS IN EDGEFIELD COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA, MAY 1, 1941.

Program	Number of Farmers		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1. Cotton allotments	122	7	34
2. Winter cover crops	127	31	5
3. Seed loans	122	18	23
4. Terracing	150	7	6
5. Forest purchase	87	42	34
6. Live-at-home	153	9	1
7. Tenant loans	110	27	26
8. Conservation payments	141	9	13
9. Land-Use Planning	61	85	17
10. School buses	142	3	18
11. CCC programs	123	21	19
12. Old-age assistance	145	5	13
13. Tax assessments	33	83	47
14. Allotment transfer	51	44	68
15. Youth programs	82	27	54

tenure, race, and other background traits conceivably affecting attitudes would be based on heterogeneous groupings in which compensating extremes occurred. Thus more information would be lost than gained by throwing together, for the purposes of analysis, individuals who had nothing in common but identical responses on one item out of fifteen. Even the case-study technique, which retains the identity and response pattern of the individual, is inadequate when the data are massive, as in the present study.

To avoid the problem, a method of cluster bloc analysis has been used instead of simple tabulation. The technique depends on the number and nature of agreements between pairs of farmers. Complete agreement between two respondents might mean that both favored all programs, opposed all programs, or had some identical combination of positive, neutral, and negative attitudes. To identify and count the agreements

the data were transferred to Hollerith cards, and each card compared with every other. By placing one card over another and holding them up to the light, agreements could be seen, because each agreements meant that both cards had been punched in the same place. The comparison of 162 cards, involving 13,041 inspections, was made and the result recorded as a matrix. Separate records were kept for positive, neutral, and negative agreements. When any pair of farmers agree in supporting a program this is referred to as a "positive" agreement, and when a pair agree in opposing a program the agreement is described as "negative." The identified blocs are positive or negative according to the nature of the agreements on which they are based.

A certain number of agreements could have occurred by chance. Thus if a schedule were marked at random, the chance of a particular item being marked positive would be one-third. The chance of another schedule being

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marked positive on the same item would also be one-third. The probability of the two schedules being in positive agreement would be one-ninth. The chance of neutral and negative agreement occurring between the two schedules on the same item would also be one-ninth. Therefore if chance alone operated in the marking of schedules, one-ninth of 15 or 1.6, agreements would be expected to occur in each of the positive, neutral, and negative categories. The agreements considered in this analysis are well above chance, the highest level of negative agreement being 6, and the highest level of positive agreement, 15. The method used to discover cluster-blocs among the opinions of the farmers is based on that described by Beyle.¹ It makes possible the patterning of agreements so that farmers most completely in agreement with one another constitute the core of bloc. The procedure is to build up from agreements between pairs of farmers until the major blocs of opinion are identified. In essence it is a graphical short-cut by which links of agreement are arranged to show the most cohesive clusters and give a measure of the strength of cohesion.

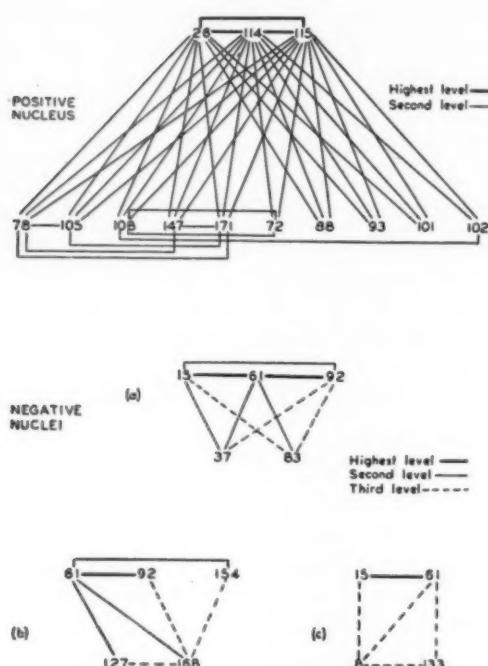
The diagrams in Figure I give an idea of the most important step—the simultaneous use of a graphical worksheet and the matrix carrying pairs of agreements. Individuals having the greatest number of positive agreements with other individuals are placed on the diagram, and pairs

added stage by stage. Lines are drawn linking individuals in agreement, the with agreements of a lower order are type of line representing the extent of the agreement. As a "bloc" pattern (or closed system of links) appears, the individuals forming it are recorded on a new matrix, with the individuals who have the strongest links at the "core" in the top left corner. The agreements of lower significance are added so that the blocs develop an inner fringe, an outer fringe, and finally stretch out to the area where chance agreements occur. A similar procedure is followed with the negative blocs. The development of the bloc system cannot be traced in detail here, but a description of the major ones is given.

The Positive Bloc

The nature of the relationships among farmers supporting the fifteen programs can be seen in part from the diagram in the upper half of Figure I. Individual farmers are represented on the diagram by code numbers. It will be seen at a glance that the pattern of lines is very nearly complete, *i.e.*, almost all the possible agreements appear. The diagram could be extended downwards from the core until all pairs of individuals whose agreement was significantly above chance were included. The links would, of course, be successively weaker as the bloc extended down from the core. For the purpose of illustration the part of the positive bloc system presented in Figure I is sufficient. One characteristic is observed throughout the entire pattern—a

¹H. C. Beyle, Identification and Analysis of Attribute-Cluster-Blocs, University of Chicago Press (Chicago, 1931).



Note: In these diagrams the code numbers representing individual farmers have been placed in levels according to the significance of the agreements between pairs. Nuclei rather than the entire blocs are presented, because the presentation of bloc systems would require several colors.

very complete linkage between all the individuals. There are no isolated systems of individuals linked to one another. A sharp contrast to this situation is provided by the negative blocs described later.

The opinions of the farmers forming the core of the positive bloc showed surprising similarity to the combined opinions of the total sample on certain topics: allotment of cotton acreages, the planting of winter cover crops, government loans for seed, etc. The bloc is differentiated from the rest of the sample by its attitudes towards land-use planning, present tax-assessment practices, the transfer of cotton allotments, and the existing youth programs. The positive bloc

supports these programs far more strongly than do other farmers. In fact, these programs account for the statistically significant difference on the chi-square test when the bloc is compared with the total population. The conclusion is clear. Individuals who form the center of the "party" supporting agricultural programs are also the individuals who are willing to go furthest in support of land-use planning and youth programs.

Who are the individuals composing the positive bloc? The three farmers at the inner core (code numbers 26, 114, and 115 on Figure One) are white owners. Two of them have two-plow farms and one a four-plow farm. The inner fringe around them con-

sists of 15 farmers, eight Negro and seven white. The positive bloc contains white owners and white tenants of the various size classes in about the proportion with which they occur in the population. The interesting fact is the statistically significant discrepancy in the appearance of Negro owners and tenants. The positive bloc contains three times as many Negro owners as expected, and about one-third the expected number of Negro tenants. It is possible that Negro owners tend to identify themselves with white farmers in their approval of government programs, while Negro tenants (many bordering on the sharecropper class) do not make the same identification. However, there is not enough data available for a full, definite conclusion on the question. The implication is that economic or tenure status is stronger than race in determining the opinions of Negro farmers.

Negative or "Opposition" Blocs

The application of the technique to the negative agreements was at first disconcerting because large, coherent blocs comparable to the positive bloc did not appear. This was due, not to a failure of the technique, but to qualities inherent in the data. Though there are numerous agreements among some pairs of farmers in opposing programs, there is no marked cohesion of these pairs into blocs of farmers who are in substantial agreement with one another. The identified types of nuclei are shown in the lower part of Figure I. The fragmentary nature of the groupings will be readily seen by comparison with the

positive bloc. The significance of this fact would be demonstrated if the farmers opposed to government programs were assembled in a meeting. On the basis of the attitudes expressed to the interviewers they would break up into groups, but the groups of farmers who agreed among themselves by substantially more than chance would be confined to four or five individuals. Although the main fact is the absence of organizable opposition to the farm programs, it is important to note the attitudes of the small negative nuclei and some characteristics of the individuals who compose them.

The three negative nuclei that were identified had some attitudes in common. They opposed youth programs and the present taxation assessments. Opposition to youth programs was particularly strong. It will be recalled that the attitude towards youth among members of the bloc supporting government programs was also of great importance. It seems likely that the attitudes of an individual farmer towards youth programs is the best single clue to his response on government programs in general. In contrast to the positive bloc only two Negro farmers occur among the 12 individuals in the nuclei of the negative blocs. They are both one-mule tenants and their role in the bloc systems is relatively unimportant. One important individual is a white tenant with a large holding, and the remaining nine are white owners of substantial farms. These are the individuals who would form the center of opposition to the government pro-

grams, but the hypothetical "parties" which they lead are weak and have no basis for common agreement except hostility towards youth programs and the taxation assessments.

Some comment should be made on the significance of the conclusions drawn from this analysis. In terms of the local situation the identification of leaders in groups supporting and opposing government programs is useful for further planning and development. The general conclusions, which may have applications outside Edgefield County, have to do with the structure of the blocs. Support for the production-control programs has been measured by referendum. Farmers

voted for the continuation of the programs when the question was submitted to them. But most programs, especially the newer and more controversial, have not been submitted to the test. The present study based on a representative sample shows that there is overwhelming support for most of the government programs and cluster-bloc analysis leads to the conclusion that the strength of support lies not merely in numbers. Opposition is split into factions possessing no common ground, while members of the positive bloc have a cohesion that comes from numerous agreements among themselves.

Some Cultural Factors Related To Occupational Mobility Among Wisconsin Farmers

By George W. Hill and Harold T. Christensen*

ABSTRACT

Based upon a field survey of Wisconsin farm families, this study shows that farm boys are entering non-farm occupations to a greater degree than formerly and that their movement is influenced by a number of cultural factors. Nearly two-fifths of the farm-reared boys of today are in non-farm work, as compared with about one-fifth two generations ago. Desertion of farming as an occupation is greater in families of low economic status. Nationality and religion also affect this behavior, but their influences were found to be greatest where economic pressures are weakest; *i.e.*, in families of high economic status. In comparison with German farmers, Scandinavians have the greater occupational mobility and the greater increase in the same; and in comparison with Lutheran farmers, Catholics have the greater occupational mobility and increase in the same. Thus it seems that the German-Lutheran high economic status combination is most favorable to the retention of farming as a family occupation. There was found to be a negative relationship between size of family and occupational mobility, a fact which, taken along with the observation that Catholic families are disproportionately large, may help explain the higher occupational mobility among Catholics. Factor comparisons based upon territorial mobility resulted in essentially the same generalizations as those for occupational mobility given above.

Basándose en una investigación hecha de familias rurales de Wisconsin, este estudio muestra que los jóvenes de las fincas entran en ocupaciones no agrícolas en mayor proporción que anteriormente y que tal movimiento es influído por

varios factores culturales. Casi dos quintas partes de los jóvenes criados en fincas hoy día están en ocupaciones no agrícolas, en comparación con una quinta parte de hace dos generaciones. La deserción de la agricultura como ocupación es mayor en las familias de bajo estado económico. La nacionalidad y la religión también afectan esta actitud, pero tales influencias resultaron mayores donde la presión económica era menor, es decir, en las familias de alto estado económico. En comparación con los labradores alemanes, los escandinavos tienen mayor movilidad ocupacional y el mayor aumento en la misma; y en comparación con los labradores luteranos, los católicos tienen mayor movilidad ocupacional y mayor aumento en la misma. Así parece que la combinación luter-alemana de alto estado económico es la más favorable para mantener la agricultura como ocupación de la familia. Se halló también una relación negativa entre el tamaño de la familia y la movilidad ocupacional, cuyo hecho, junto con la observación que las familias católicas son desproporcionalmente grandes, explica en parte por qué hay mayor movilidad ocupacional entre los católicos. La comparación de factores basados en movilidad territorial dió como resultado esencialmente las mismas generalizaciones que éas de movilidad ocupacional sobredicha.

The phenomenon of occupational mobility within and between generations—at least that portion having to do with change in type of employment—has been so often studied from the economic point of view that it has become almost axiomatic to assume that the only motive in changing jobs is economic. The present study was instituted to examine the possibility of other factors that might be related to the process of occupational mobility. It was restricted to a study of farmers in Wisconsin in general, and to the movement of farm boys into non-farm occupations in particular. To what extent, we asked are farm boys deserting the occupation of their fathers, and what are the factors affecting their choice in the process?

The sample. Data for the study were obtained from a field survey of 240 Wisconsin farm families, selected in such a way as to represent

certain types in economic status, nationality, and religion. The survey was conducted through personal interviews by Mr. Christensen during the summer of 1940. There was no thought of choosing a sample that would be representative of the state as a whole, but rather the plan was to represent certain culture types and in this way discover the effect of type factors upon the phenomena of occupational mobility.¹ Economic status, nationality, and religion were the three factors chosen for analysis, and two areas in the state were selected purposefully to represent major elements or types involved in these factors.

It would obviously not be possible to study all types; and consequently it was decided to represent economic status by a high income area and a low income area; to represent nationality within each of these areas

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¹This paper is part of a larger study dealing with the effect of these factors upon several behavior patterns of Wisconsin farmers. For a theoretical framework of the larger study, cf. George W. Hill, "The Use of the Culture-Area Concept in Social Research." *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (1), July, 1941, pp. 39-47.

by the two largest nationality groups which prevail in Wisconsin, German and Scandinavian; and, likewise, to represent religion in each area by the two largest religious groups, Catholic and Lutheran. On the basis of a preliminary analysis of published data from the census and elsewhere, Dane County was selected as the high income area and Price and Taylor counties as the low income area.² The final sample consisted of forty German Catholic, forty German Lutheran, and forty Scandinavian Lutheran families in the high income area, and the same number of each group in the low income area, making 240 cases in all. By selecting the cases in this way, the data could be arranged in such a manner that each factor could be analyzed with the other two factors controlled or held constant, as will be indicated below.

Mobility through three generations. Information on the occupations of farm-reared males was obtained for three generations, making possible comparisons over time. The first generation is represented by 519 individuals, the fathers and paternal uncles of the family heads interviewed. The second generation is represented by 849 individuals, the family heads interviewed and their brothers who entered an occupation. The third generation is represented by 296 individuals, the living sons of family heads who were twenty years

²Data obtained later in the field survey verified this selection. Expressed on a per capita basis, farmers in Dane County were found to have an economic status nearly three times that of the Price-Taylor area.

of age or over at the time of the study. On the basis of these cases, the percentage of adult males in non-farm work were calculated for all three generations, and the amounts and trends of occupational mobility noted.

Tables I through IV below show the general trend to be in the direction of an increase in each generation in the per cent of farm boys entering non-farm occupations. With minor exceptions, this is true of all types studied. For the total sample, the percentage in non-farm work was 19.5 in the first generation, as compared with 29.3 in the second, and 39.5 in the third. This means that from grandfathers to grandsons, occupational mobility has doubled and that it now involves about two-fifths of all farm boys in the sample.³

Economic status as a factor. Table I is designed to show the relationship between economic status and occupational mobility, and it is classified by both nationality and religion for purposes of control. It will be observed that in every group for each generation, occupational mobility is greater in the low status area than in the high. Economic status, in other words, is a factor in occupational mobility, and the lower the status the

³Cf. W. A. Anderson, "The Transmission of Farming as an Occupation," *Rural Sociology*, IV (4), pp. 433-448 (Dec., 1939); and V (3), pp. 349-351 (Sept., 1940). Anderson deals with samples in New York State, but from them he reaches essentially the same conclusions that we do here. His percentages for farm boys in non-farm work are somewhat higher than ours, but the increase in this mobility from generation to generation is well marked in both cases.

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC STATUS AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY THROUGH THREE GENERATIONS

Classification of Economic Status by Nationality and Religion ¹	Percent Adult Males in Non-Farm Work		
	1st Generation ²	2nd Generation ³	3rd Generation ⁴
<i>German Catholic</i>			
Low Status Area	27.8	33.9	42.6
High Status Area	8.9	19.9	26.5
<i>German Lutheran</i>			
Low Status Area	26.4	40.0	42.9
High Status Area	25.9	23.4	24.3
<i>Scandinavian Lutheran</i>			
Low Status Area	21.0	31.9	62.0
High Status Area	15.0	27.8	32.6
<i>Total</i>			
Low Status Area	25.1	35.9	48.5
High Status Area	16.3	23.2	27.6
<i>Grand Total</i>	19.5	29.3	39.5

1. Dane County was taken as the high and Price and Taylor Counties as the low income areas of this study.

2. Father of family head and those of his brothers who entered an occupation. Calculations are on the basis of 165 schedules giving the occupations of 519 individuals. Fifty-three cases is the smallest number from which any percentage is figured.

3. Family head and those of his brothers who entered an occupation. Calculations are on the basis of 237 schedules giving the occupations of 849 individuals. One hundred nineteen cases is the smallest number from which any percentage is figured.

4. Living sons of family head who are 20 years of age or over. Calculations are on the basis of 120 schedules giving the occupation of 296 individuals. Thirty-seven cases is the smallest number from which any percentage is figured.

higher the mobility. Apparently, the economic motive is a factor which influences occupational change.

Nationality as a factor. Table II pictures the relationship between nationality and occupational mobility. It is based upon families of the Lutheran faith only, which has the effect of holding the factor of religion constant; and it is classified by economic status, which has the effect of controlling that factor also. The table shows that, while a larger proportion of the German farm youth deserted their family occupation in grandfather's day than did the Scandinavian, just the reverse is true today.

In the trend toward occupational mobility, in other words, Scandinavian farmers have moved more rapidly than German farmers. As a matter of fact, in the high status area there has been no increase at all in the occupational mobility of German farmers, suggesting that where income is adequate German farmers are inclined to stay with the soil. This tendency for farmers of German stock to resist change and conserve the patterns and values of agricultural life has been observed by others.⁴

It is significant also in our own study that German farmers, in com-

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONALITY AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY THROUGH THREE GENERATIONS

Classification of Nationality by Economic Status ¹	Percent Adult Males in Non-Farm Work		
	1st Generation ²	2nd Generation ³	3rd Generation ⁴
<i>Low Status Area</i>			
German	26.4	40.0	42.9
Scandinavian	21.0	31.9	62.0
<i>High Status Area</i>			
German	25.9	23.4	24.3
Scandinavian	15.0	27.8	32.6
<i>Total</i>			
German	26.1	32.6	34.9
Scandinavian	17.3	29.8	48.4
<i>Grand Total</i>	21.7	31.3	41.9

1. Only Lutheran families are considered in this table, which has the effect of holding the religion factor constant. Low and high status areas are the same as defined in Table 1 above.

2, 3, and 4. Same as footnotes 2, 3, and 4 in Table 1 above, except that here percentages are based upon the occupations of only 323 individuals in the 1st generation, 552 in the 2nd generation, and 179 in the 3rd generation.

parison with Scandinavian, have higher fertility and lower relief, as well as lower occupational mobility, all of which suggest conservatism.

Religion as a factor. In Table III is presented an analysis of religion as a factor affecting occupational mobility. In order to control the nationality factor, only German families are here considered; and in order to control economic status as a factor, the data are classified into areas of high and low status. It will be observed that the movement of farm youth into other occupations was greater among

¹Cf. Walter L. Slocum, "Ethnic Stocks as Culture Types in Rural Wisconsin," (Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1940), pp. 83-86 and *passim*. In comparing German with Norwegian and native American farm patterns, Mr. Slocum concludes that the German is the most uniform and the most conservative. He speaks of the German farm family as a "hard-working, home-loving, conservative group," p. 48.

Lutherans than Catholics two generations ago, but it is greater among Catholics today; the increase of occupational mobility, in other words, has been greater among Catholics. But the greatest increase was among Catholics with high economic status. The generalization made above concerning the probable conservative nature of German farmers in occupational mobility apparently holds for Lutherans only, and those who are relatively well-to-do. German Catholic farmers on the upper economic levels have been close to the soil in the past, but if occupational mobility is any indication of a change, it must be said now that they are losing this trait rather rapidly. The explanation for this is not apparent from the table, but it is the opinion of the authors that the disproportionate size of individual Catholic families is

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY THROUGH THREE GENERATIONS

Classification of Religion by Economic Status ¹	Percent Adult Males in Non-Farm Work		
	1st Generation ²	2nd Generation ³	3rd Generation ⁴
<i>Low Status Area</i>			
Catholic	27.8	33.9	42.6
Lutheran	26.4	40.0	42.9
<i>High Status Area</i>			
Catholic	8.9	19.9	26.5
Lutheran	25.9	23.4	24.3
<i>Total</i>			
Catholic	15.8	25.6	35.9
Lutheran	26.1	32.6	34.9
<i>Grand Total</i>	20.4	29.1	35.4

1. Only German families are considered in this table, which has the effect of holding the nationality factor constant. Low and high status areas are the same as defined in Table 1 above.

2, 3, and 4. Same as footnotes 2, 3, and 4 in Table 1 above, except that here percentages are based upon the occupations of only 357 individuals in the 1st generation, 604 in the 2nd generation, and 203 in the 3rd generation.

a partial answer. Occupational mobility is related positively to size of family, as Table IV shows; and since

⁵From the field data of this study, the writers found the average number of children in completed families to be 5.9 for all cases. When the nationality and religion groups are compared without regard to economic status, the figures are 7.7 for German Catholic, 5.6 for German Lutheran, and 5.0 for Scandinavian Lutheran. When economic status is taken into consideration, the figures are 6.4 for German Catholic, 6.5 for German Lutheran, and 5.0 for Scandinavian Lutheran in the low status area, making a total average of 5.9 there; and 9.4, 4.7, 5.0, and 5.9 respectively in the high status area. The greatest differences in family size are obviously between religious groups. Control of family size during the factor analysis of this study would have been highly desirable had the sample been large enough. By comparing family size with occupational mobility, however, it will be seen that economic status and nationality tend to influence mobility in spite of family size differentials, while in the case of religion, mobility seems to be reinforced in the large families. A subsequent article will deal more fully with the problem of fertility in relationship to cultural determinants.

Catholic families are larger than Lutherans,⁵ it is logical to expect a larger movement into other occupations from them. This difference does not show up among those on the lower economic levels in any significant way, but the more well-to-do among the German Catholic farmers are apparently more willing to release the pressure of large families by pushing out into other occupations. It seems probable, although not positive, that religion affects occupational mobility in an indirect manner—Catholics have larger families because they are Catholics and then have greater occupational mobility because of their large families; on the lower economic levels Catholics and Lutherans alike have high occupational mobility because of the economic pressure, but on the upper levels where economic pressure is rel-

atively absent the former are turning more to occupational mobility as a release from their large families.

Size of family and occupational mobility. The relationship between size of family and occupational mobility is presented in Table IV. Percentages are based upon raw data

those sons who have entered a non-farm occupation. This is as would be expected, for there are limits to the number of farms available.

Miscellany. The attitude of farmers toward their occupation has some bearing on the problem of occupational mobility as used in this study.

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIZE OF FAMILY AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY THROUGH THREE GENERATIONS

Size of Family ¹	Percent Adult Males in Non-Farm Work		
	1st Generation ²	2nd Generation ³	3rd Generation ⁴
1 Son	4.6	0.0	28.9
2 Sons	16.3	26.0	37.5
3 Sons	21.4	20.6	40.2
4 Sons	22.3	24.0	41.1
5 or More Sons	19.8	38.9	45.8
TOTAL	19.5	29.3	39.5

1. Classified by the number of adult sons in the family—those in the 1st and 2nd generations who had entered an occupation, and those in the 3rd generation who were 20 years of age or over.

2, 3, and 4. Same as footnotes 2, 3, and 4 in Table 1 above; except that here 22 cases is the smallest number from which any percentage is figured in the 1st generation, 18 is the smallest in the 2nd generation, and 21 is the smallest in the 3rd generation. In all cases these small numbers are in the group with only one adult son.

from all schedules suitable for this analysis. Because of small numbers, no attempt has been made at factor control. Although it would have been advisable to remove the effects of economic status, nationality, and religion from this analysis had the numbers been large enough to permit such procedure, the figures as they stand point to a definite positive relationship between size of family and occupational mobility. It holds generally true in all generations that the larger the number of adult sons in the family, the greater the percentage of

The following hypothetical questions were asked of each of the farmers interviewed: "If you were starting out again as a young person today, what occupation would you likely choose?", and "Why?" An analysis of their answers showed that 35.0 per cent would choose a non-farming occupation, and of these, 87.2 per cent would do so for reason of the income involved. Of those who would choose farming, only 14.5 per cent would do so because of income, however, showing that for many people farming holds out non-monetary compensa-

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tions for the financial inadequacies that are often present.

Territorial mobility and occupational mobility are closely associated. Of all sons twenty years of age or over in the sample, 59.8 had moved from the home farm. Similar percentages were 60.9 for the low economic status as compared with 58.3 for the high economic status group; 53.5 for the German Lutherans as compared with 68.8 for the Scandinavian Lutherans and 57.3 for the German Catholics; and 36.8 for families with one adult son as compared with 46.4 for two sons, 64.4 for three sons, 76.8 for four sons, and 66.1 for families with five or more sons. Percentages are higher for territorial mobility than for occupational mobility all the way through, but factor comparisons are essentially the same in all cases.

In close connection with this problem is the question of which son takes over the father's farm. Our data are complete on this point for only 53 cases, and of these 26.4 per cent said that the father's farm would go to an only son, 17.9 per cent to an oldest son, 29.3 per cent to a middle son, and 26.4 per cent to a youngest son. The evidence is inconclusive, but it does seem to raise a question on the conclusion that the farm is most frequently transmitted to the oldest son.⁶

Summary and interpretation. Occupational mobility among Wisconsin

farmers, as measured by the per cent of farm males entering non-farm occupations, has been increasing rather rapidly through the last three generations. Approximately two-fifths of the present generation of farmers' sons, as compared with about one-fifth of those in their grandfather's day, pass out of farming as an occupation.

There is an inverse relationship between occupational mobility and economic status. The higher mobility among the poorer farm families suggests that economic pressures force farm boys into other occupations, an interpretation that finds support in the fact that the great majority of the farmers, who said they would choose some other occupation if they could start over again, said they would do so because of the income involved.

Nationality and religion also enter in to shape the picture of occupational mobility. It appears that economic status is the most important factor where the status is low; but on higher levels where economic pressure is relatively light, nationality and religion both play important roles. In comparison to the Scandinavian stock, German farmers are more conservative and slow to change; they are close to the soil and resistant to the trend toward greater occupational mobility. In comparison to those of the Catholic region, Lutheran farmers are the more conservative and the least mobile at the present time. Catholics, with their disproportionately large families, are rapidly having to break up their tra-

⁶Cf. W. A. Anderson, *op. cit.*, who concludes that it is taken over most frequently by the oldest son, with the youngest son coming next and the middle sons last in the frequency of transmission.

ditional farming pattern; this is especially true of those on the upper economic levels, for although their occupational mobility is not yet as high as those on the lower levels, the rate of increase of this phenomenon is greater.

Size of family is likewise related to the movement of farm boys into other occupations. The larger the number of adult sons in the family, the larger the percentage that leaves farming. Economic status, nationality, and religion all affect size of family, and this in turn affects the transmission of farming. These four factors all impinge upon each other to form the patterns of occupational mobility.

Territorial mobility is greater in extent, but it follows the same general patterns as does occupational mobility.

Evidence on which son most frequently takes over the father's farm is inconclusive, but the data of this study give no support to the contention that it is the oldest son.

The present study was intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive and conclusive. There is need for continued research on occupational mobility if this important process in rural life is to be adequately understood.

NOTES

Edited by Paul H. Landis

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THE GENERAL COURSE IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY?

The rapid expansion of rural sociology in various types of colleges and universities of the United States raises a question regarding the nature of the course in each one. Is there a uniformity of interest in topics pertaining to rural life or does the type of institution in which the course is offered influence its content to a marked degree? The data in Table 1 provides an answer to this question. The original figures were derived from a survey made in 1939 by the Teaching Committee of the Rural Sociological Society of which the author was a member but the material presented herewith was not included as a part of the committee report.

The main point which the figures in this table substantiate is the expected agreement on the part of teachers in various institutions regarding the importance of certain topics.¹ Social change, social institutions,

¹This ranking was based on a score determined as follows: If the topic received no emphasis it was scored 1. If minor emphasis, 2, and if major emphasis, 3. These scores multiplied by the number of replies received constituted a total which, divided by the total possible scores, gave the actual rating. Thus, for all institutions combined, the topic, types of communities, was checked 92 times for major emphasis, 91 times for minor emphasis and 7 times for no emphasis. Thus (92×3) , plus (91×2) , plus (7×1) equals

TABLE 1. RANK ORDER OF TOPICS OF INTEREST IN THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY BASED ON REPLIES FROM 198 EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

TOPIC*	All Colleges 198	State Univ. and Colleges 53	Private and Church Colleges 74	Teachers and Women's Colleges 38	Junior Colleges 19	Negro Colleges 9	Miscellaneous Colleges 6
The impact of a changing social order on rural life.....	1	1	1	3	9	1	5
The farm family and home.....	2	8	2	1	1	3	11
Farmer's standard of living.....	3	3	4	4	3	5	3
Society and rural life.....	4	4	3	5	10	15	1
Rural children and youth.....	5	9	5	2	5	4	22
The school and education.....	6	10	8	45	2	17	10
Rural population: number, distribution, increase, etc.	7	2	10	18	11	16	7
Migration and rural-urban population.....	8	6	9	6	15	7	2
Social aspects of farm tenancy.....	9	16	6	16	4	18	12
The rural church and religion.....	10	7	7	21	22	10	16
Effects of migration: qualitative and quantitative.....	11	12	13	10	23	21	8
Rural leadership.....	12	23	12	7	13	11	18
Socio-economic status of rural groups.....	13	22	11	23	7	9	9
Rural health and vitality.....	14	21	14	9	19	2	13
The rural neighborhood.....	15	15	15	14	20	6	26
Town-county relationships.....	16	19	18	12	8	24	17
Rural farm social structure and traits.....	17	5	21	17	36	8	14
Planning for rural society.....	18	17	23	11	21	14	32
Rural play and recreation.....	19	26	20	24	6	12	25
The rural primary group.....	20	11	17	29	33	20	20
Rural isolation and communication.....	21	18	29	19	12	22	30
Development of rural society.....	22	20	26	8	32	32	4
The social significance of adjustment to land.....	23	25	25	22	18	34	6
Agricultural cooperation.....	24	27	22	28	14	13	15
The improvement of rural-urban relationships.....	25	29	19	15	16	27	27

NOTES

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

TABLE I.—(Continued)

TOPIC*	All Colleges 1938	State Univ. and Colleges 53	Private and Church Colleges 74	Teachers and Women's Colleges 36	Junior Colleges 19	Negro Colleges 9	Miscel- laneous Colleges 5
Types of communities.....	26	14	24	26	29	29	24
Rural social progress.....	27	36	16	13	25	25	40
Geographical influences upon rural life.....	28	30	30	20	17	33	21
Community buildings.....	29	28	28	25	27	19	44
Some fundamental concepts of rural sociology.....	30	32	27	27	26	31	28
Rural social psychology.....	31	24	35	33	30	30	19
Social aspects of agricultural adjustment.....	32	33	31	30	35	26	36
Special interest groups in rural society.....	33	13	36	35	42	39	31
Adult education.....	34	31	33	36	31	36	34
Agricultural labor.....	35	35	32	40	24	23	38
Mechanization of farm production.....	36	37	34	32	34	43	23
Farmers and political activities.....	37	34	38	31	28	44	42
Resettlement of farm population.....	38	41	37	43	43	37	41
Reorganization of local rural government.....	39	38	44	34	44	48	47
Rural sociology as a science.....	40	39	42	41	45	28	33
Physical traits of farm population.....	41	43	40	46	50	35	37
Deficiency and anti-social classes.....	42	42	48	39	40	38	29
Rural non-farm aggregations.....	43	40	47	44	46	47	39
Rural art and esthetic culture.....	44	45	43	38	41	45	49
Administration of rural relief.....	45	44	39	50	37	46	46
Rural electrification.....	46	46	46	37	39	42	43
Social implications of agricultural credit.....	47	47	41	42	38	40	35
The corporation farm.....	48	50	45	49	49	47	45
Community fairs.....	49	49	49	48	47	41	50
The folk school.....	50	48	50	47	48	50	48

* As stated in the survey made by the Teaching Committee.

and rural population receive almost universal emphasis. State universities and colleges, and private and church colleges correspond closely to the total in their emphasis on these topics. The women's colleges and teachers' colleges, however, vary from the total and from the state universities and private schools in one important respect. Instead of having the rural school and education among the first ten topics they rate it forty-fifth in their list, probably because education and related topics are emphasized in other courses. These institutions consider the farm family and home as being more important, and put rural children and youth in second place. They also rate rural leadership, socio-economic status of rural groups, rural health and vitality, and the development of rural society among the first ten on their list.

According to replies from Negro colleges a considerable amount of emphasis is given to rural health and vitality, the rural neighborhood, and migration of rural-urban population. The Junior Colleges pay less attention to migration of the population but put more emphasis on rural play and recreation, socio-economic status of rural groups, and town-country relations than do any other group of institutions.

The topics receiving least emphasis are also of interest inasmuch as some subjects like rural art which is rated forty-fourth in the list, is considered by many persons to be of great potential, if not actual, significance in rural life. Evidently, teachers are not aware of these values or do not agree that they are important. Also, rural government which is an important influence in any community, either urban or rural, is rated thirty-ninth in the list for all types of institutions. Such ratings constitute a challenge for the rural sociologist to describe more clearly through research and writing the

social conditions and phenomena which are sociologically important, but which may not be popular.

Information concerning the sociological concepts emphasized in a majority of these institutions is presented in Table II.

A total of 63 concepts was reported. The outstanding fact in their ranking is the emphasis which was given to the community, even though definitions of the community vary considerably in sociological textbooks. Organization, which was rated in second place by the 185 institutions combined is among the first ten concepts for all types of institutions except Negro colleges. Likewise, culture appears in the first ten for all types of institutions except Junior colleges and four colleges classified as "unknown." A deviation of extreme nature is the emphasis which is given to the special interest group. State universities rank this subject sixth in point of emphasis whereas for all institutions combined it is ranked twenty-ninth. The amount of agreement evident in Table II, however, is sufficient to indicate that the conceptual frame-work of the subject is rapidly being built around social groups, social change, social institutions, social organization, culture, and attitudes which result in part from it.

Such is the status of Rural Sociology at the present time. What its future development will be is a matter of conjecture. Nevertheless, a few comments may be made. Its continued development in state universities and land-grant colleges seems assured. The social problems of rural life are receiving an increasing amount of attention as the relationships of rural life to national welfare become apparent. The nation is beginning a program of social planning which is certain to focus attention on social relationships, both urban and rural, and the need for the study of them.

Private colleges and universities as well as theological seminaries may be expected to follow the lead of the state universities for data presented in this paper show that the interests and approach of the two are similar. An increasing number of teachers' colleges, too, will be likely to offer courses in

465. As 190 institutions replied, the maximum rating would be 190×3 equals 570. 465 divided by 570 equals .82, which, multiplied by 100, gives 82, the actual score for this item. Dr. D. L. Gibson of Michigan State College suggested the method of scoring and supervised the scoring of the various topics and the preparation of Tables I and II.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

TABLE 2. RANK ORDER OF CONCEPTS IN THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY BASED ON REPLIES FROM 185 EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

CONCEPT*	All Colleges 185	State Univ. and Colleges 50	Private and Church Colleges 69	Teachers and Women's Colleges 38	Junior Colleges 17	Negro Colleges 9	Misc. and Unknown Colleges 4
Community	1	2	1	1	3	1	4
Social organization	2	1	2	6	4	18	7
Culture	3	8	6	4	1	2	12
Social institution	4	5	4	7	15	8	8
Social change	5	4	7	11	17	10	21
Group	6	9	3	3	27	14	1
Communication	7	10	10	2	5	3	16
Cultural change	8	7	8	10	22	6	15
Primary group	9	3	5	16	48	15	3
Leadership	10	17	11	5	20	11	27
Attitude	11	16	17	9	7	4	24
Social control	12	11	9	13	11	49	19
Socialization	13	20	19	8	2	7	17
Society	14	22	14	12	13	16	28
Personality	15	30	15	14	8	5	26
Social interaction	16	23	12	27	12	39	9
The social process	17	24	18	22	6	17	6
Social contact	18	12	22	29	16	9	50
Social mobility	19	18	16	40	18	20	10
Mores	20	14	24	17	21	42	34
Culture pattern	21	28	13	21	34	24	31
Conflict	22	13	23	26	35	27	38
Social situation	23	26	20	23	36	12	30
Folkways	24	15	34	15	37	35	35
Culture lag	25	19	28	33	32	26	33
Competition	26	31	25	32	9	23	18
Behavior pattern	27	25	27	28	46	21	29
Social isolation	28	21	33	36	24	45	20
Special interest group	29	6	38	43	40	41	5
Status	30	27	37	38	19	30	25
Public opinion	31	39	26	25	10	38	49
Value	32	36	29	31	29	22	45
Accommodation	33	38	21	37	45	13	39

Accommodation 33 38 21 37 46 13 39

TABLE 2.—(Continued)

CONCEPT*	All Colleges 185	State Univ. and Colleges 50	Private and Church Colleges 69	Teachers and Women's Colleges 38	Junior Colleges 17	Negro Colleges 9	Misc. and Unknown Colleges 4
Culture inheritance	34	37	41	20	14	34	14
Culture area	35	29	30	41	57	33	32
Assimilation	36	44	35	18	23	31	40
Culture diffusion	37	33	31	42	54	25	13
Invention	38	32	43	24	26	43	47
Social progress	39	42	39	19	25	29	52
Social disorganization	40	34	32	49	43	61	43
Group morale	41	40	45	35	28	19	42
Social evolution	42	45	47	30	33	28	23
Human ecology	43	35	36	34	44	36	36
Class	44	41	46	51	30	40	53
Social movement	45	52	40	46	47	47	22
Natural area	46	43	48	48	63	44	48
Acculturation	47	47	49	52	53	59	41
Social distance	48	50	50	57	31	46	51
Discovery	49	49	56	44	42	52	54
Segregation	50	56	42	58	38	58	37
Social selection	51	51	52	50	49	48	61
Survival	52	46	57	45	41	50	63
Division of social labor	53	48	58	53	56	53	44
Dominance	54	54	44	54	60	51	58
Centralization	55	57	54	39	51	32	55
Pluralistic behavior	56	53	55	56	59	62	2
Social revolution	57	59	60	47	52	60	60
Social bond	58	58	61	55	39	60	59
Succession	59	61	51	62	62	37	57
Elementary group	60	60	59	59	58	54	11
Invasion	61	62	53	60	61	56	56
Caste	62	55	62	61	55	62	62
Cumulative group	63	63	63	63	50	63	46

* Concepts as stated in the survey made by the Teaching Committee.

the subject. The sociological interpretation of the school and its program in the rural community is indispensable in successful teaching, a fact which is being rapidly accepted by educators. This relationship provides the opportunity for laboratory work in the subject and some teachers are taking advantage of this situation in the methods used to present the subject. Finally, research dealing with administrative problems of social organization and questions of strictly scientific import is developing rapidly so that teachers may not look in vain for facts to use in the classroom.

While these developments portend a bright future for the subject, they do not in any sense obviate the necessity for critical and constructive thinking on the part of teachers. One purpose in offering Rural Sociology in a college curriculum, it may be assumed, is to train students to think logically, coherently, and conceptually about the social aspects of rural life. In order to do this teachers must be mentally alert and responsive to new developments in the field. Rural Sociology is a new science and its conceptual aspects are advancing rapidly.

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AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION PUBLICITY IN ELEVEN NORTHEASTERN INDIANA COUNTIES

Indiana agricultural extension workers are awakening to an increasing need for study of rural people, so their efforts can be directed toward the realization of desired results with the least expenditure of time, energy and money. So many contemporary agencies are attempting to gain the attention of farm people that constant study of effective ways and means of reaching them is essential.

Publicity in such forms as newspaper and farm magazine stories, radio broadcasts, circular letters and post cards, posters, and by word of mouth, is "stock in trade" for all livewire agricultural extension workers. For this reason a study was recently made of publicity phases of extension work in eleven northeastern Indiana counties which surround Fort Wayne, a city with a population of 118,193, an area where for several years extension agents have maintained a daily agricultural extension program over WOWO, a Fort Wayne radio station.

Under the leadership of representatives of the office of the associate director of agricultural extension work, Purdue University, a survey schedule was designed to obtain certain basic information as to farm tenure, acreages farmed and family composition of

farm residents of the area; to ascertain their age and education; to find out something as to the availability of the more important home conveniences and means of communication; to determine what newspapers, agricultural magazines, and radio programs come into the home regularly; and to discover certain attitudes relating to these means of communication.

Interviews were made in 294 farm homes, selected at random, at predetermined distances on routes passing through representative sections of the counties. All types of roads, and areas of various land and community characteristics, such as special religious groups or other unusual social characteristics were included on the routes traveled by the interviewers. Only homes in the open country were visited. All family heads and homemakers found at home were interviewed.

The trend toward a rural population made up of increasing proportions of non-farmers and part-time farmers was seen in the fact that one-fifth of the families belonged to these two groups, a condition unthought of in Indiana a few decades ago. Adults per farm averaged 2.3, and children under 21 averaged 1.5.

Considerably more than one-half the family heads and their home-makers had only eighth grade educations and only ten per cent had received any college training. More than forty per cent were over 50 years of age.

While the 1930 census showed 62.3 per cent of the farm homes in the eleven counties had telephones, the survey showed only slightly more than 45 per cent had telephones in 1940. The decrease in telephones on farms is noticeable in many parts of Indiana. Many were removed during the depression and not replaced. Possibly the automobile is considered adequate to fill the emergency role formerly assumed by the telephone and the radio, with its continuous programs may furnish the lonesome farm homemaker the "company" once afforded by the telephone for "visiting," making it seem advisable to eliminate the expenditure for telephone service.

Almost every home received a newspaper. In fact, only six homes, of the 294, or two per cent, received neither a daily nor weekly newspaper. Although almost every county has a daily newspaper and every county has a weekly, many farmers take one of the two Fort Wayne newspapers to the exclusion of their own county paper. The Fort Wayne morning paper is delivered by mail while the evening paper is delivered to the door by special carrier. In one county 21 of 22 homes where interviews were made received one or both of the Fort Wayne papers while only four homes received the home daily. Two hundred twenty-two, or 75 per cent of the 294 homes received one or both of the Fort Wayne newspapers.

A serious problem in agricultural extension work in this district lies in the fact that most of the farmers read the Fort Wayne papers to the exclusion of their county papers, daily or weekly. The Fort Wayne papers cannot, or do not, give adequate publicity to agricultural news from these counties, limiting such "stories" to brief summaries. Furthermore, the two Fort Wayne papers are large, causing farm news to be buried between ads and city news, so that farm people are unlikely to find the

news county extension agents would like for them to read.

Most homes surveyed were well supplied with periodicals, farm magazines predominating. The leading farm magazine of the state and a mid-west farm magazine published in Illinois were equal in circulation.

Readers were found to favor the grouping of farm and home news, either on a "farm page" or in a less formal way. Homemakers seemed less strongly in favor of this arrangement than did family heads.

Much satisfaction is found in the fact that 58 per cent of the farmers and 45 per cent of the homemakers were reading county extension agents' news "once a week" or more often. On the other hand, it seems serious to extension workers when almost half those interviewed read the agents' news only "occasionally" or "never." Undoubtedly a close relationship exists between the latter condition and the fact that the farmers did not receive the local county papers in which their county extension agents' news appeared.

Family heads and homemakers averaged only 30 minutes daily reading newspapers in the summer; both groups averaged more time in the winter. If it can be assumed that farmers are harder pressed for time to read in the summer than homemakers, and that duties permit equal opportunities for reading in winter, then it would seem that farmers are inclined to read newspapers more than their homemakers.

The radio must be acknowledged to be a rapidly developing institution in American farm life. Younger people, especially seem to rely upon it greatly for news, entertainment and general information, and homemakers for religious satisfaction. Homemakers were greater radio enthusiasts than family heads, some of them having the receiver turned on almost the entire day, following eight or ten serials and other regular programs.

News programs were most popular with both family heads and homemakers, this possibly being influenced by unsettled world conditions. It was interesting to find that religious programs were the second most

prominent of all types of programs heard generally by homemakers. H. B. Summers also found this true in his Kansas study.*

A considerable number of family heads and their homemakers quite often listen to the extension agents' special program. Twelve o'clock noon was preferred by more than two-thirds for agricultural programs.

When expressing opinions as to form of agricultural radio programs desired, most persons much preferred interviews, i.e., more than one voice, and questions and answers. There was also a great desire for talks by farm people, giving their own experiences.

Music was generally liked as a part of the agricultural program.

Very few people were found to be taking notes during radio programs. Those who did

were mostly women and the interviewers found most notes taken by women to be recipes.

People did not like monologues, especially when read. They like to hear more than one voice and 68.7 per cent of the family heads and 75.3 per cent of the homemakers preferred that those who speak on radio programs speak extemporaneously rather than from script. This fact is supported by Miss Lillian Murphy's study of the use of radio in 4-H club work.** She found that rural young people "were more interested in informal talks or interviews than they were in a bulletin style presentation."

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* H. B. Summers, "The Kansas Radio Audience of 1939," Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas.

** Lillian A. Murphy, "The Use of Radio in 4-H Club Work," Extension Service Circular 352, U. S. D. A., March, 1941.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEPENDENCY OF RURAL OLD PEOPLE¹

How do rural people who become dependent financially in old age differ from those who do not become dependent? In order to answer this question an investigation was made of recipients and non-recipients of old age assistance in rural Iowa (open country and places of less than 2,500 people). By random sampling 450 rural people ranging in ages from sixty-five to ninety-eight were selected and interviewed by the writer and two helpers. Half of the people interviewed were recipients of old age assistance, the other half were supporting themselves.

It was found that poor health was one of the chief factors contributing to their dependency. The recipients of old age assist-

ance had poorer health when interviewed, and had had poorer health throughout their lives. The average recipient of old age assistance was several years younger than the non-recipient when he suffered his first chronic ailment. Although the recipients of old age assistance had less money to spend they had spent more on medical care during the preceding year than did the non-recipients. Further, a greater percentage of dependents were forced to retire from their regular work because of their health or because of the health of the mate.

Those who had become dependent in old age left the family nest earlier in life than those who were more successful financially. On the average, they took on the responsibility of a wife and family earlier and raised larger families than the non-dependent group. On the other hand, a greater percentage of the recipients were married later

¹This study is part of a larger project dealing with problems of old age. It was carried out cooperatively by the Sociology Department at Iowa State College and the Old Age Assistance Division of the Iowa State Department of Social Welfare.

in life than the non-recipients and a greater percentage had no children. More of the non-recipients of assistance were married between the ages of 25 and 35 while the recipients married before and after these years.

Those who married and whose marriage was unbroken by death or divorce were more likely to be financially independent in old age. They have a better chance of keeping off the assistance rolls because it is easier for two old people to make a living than one. If they are living in the open country or in a village the two can care for a cow and chickens and raise a garden, so that together they can make their living although they do not have a great surplus in cash. The aged person living alone finds greater difficulty in carrying on these activities. Another factor contributing to the independence of the married aged is that since both are living they doubtless have had superior health and have not found it necessary to spend heavily for medical care and burial.

Those who were separated or divorced were found to be recipients of old age assistance in a greater proportion than the other groups. The fact that a person is divorced often indicates that he is maladjusted in other respects. Since the presence of divorce indicates emotional maladjustments it was to be expected that the highest dependency rate would exist among the divorced group. Further, the division of property which takes place with divorce depletes the economic resources of both.

The next highest rate of dependency was found among the widowed group, and the single group came next. The old person who is widowed may have been reduced to dependency by the sickness and death of the mate. These added expenses may have used the reserve which had been saved for old age and the remaining spouse must accept old age assistance.

When the single group was considered by sex classification it was found that the single men had a very high dependency rate while the single women had a lower dependency rate than that of any other group, even

lower than that of unbroken marriages. This is probably explained by the fact that if a man does not marry it often indicates some mental or physical abnormality, while among the spinsters this factor is of less importance. Further, many of the women who do not marry seek a career and seem to be more thoughtful in providing for old age. Another factor is that spinsters and widows can make a place for themselves in the home of a relative in old age. Children will care for the aged mother, and nephews or nieces are often glad to have a maiden aunt live with them to help care for the children. The widower and the bachelor are confronted with a different situation, for they cannot prove their worth in the home of the relative, as can the aged female. Often the children and relatives blame the man for his dependency and do not object to his applying for old age assistance.

"A rolling stone gathers no moss," held true with the old people in this investigation. The recipients of assistance had moved more often and had engaged in more occupations than the old people who were independent financially. Those who had worked at a trade or were unskilled laborers had a higher dependency rate than those who had been farmers or professional people.

It would seem that the years of education would bear little relationship to dependency among the aged in this sample, since a majority of them were engaged in agriculture. (Two-thirds gave farming as their lifetime occupation.) It was found, however, that the recipients of old age assistance had attended school fewer years than the non-recipients. Since most of them had engaged in non-technical and non-professional work it was probably not the lack of education which caused them to fail financially. The more probable explanation is that the person who pursues his education for more years also has other qualities which are characteristic of those who are successful financially and who plan for their future.

Fewer recipients of assistance carried life insurance or ever had carried life insurance; a greater percentage of them had

dropped insurance once carried. This latter would be expected since the individual might be forced to drop his life insurance when faced with financial reverses. The fact that a man fails to carry life insurance in his active years may, however, indicate a general attitude toward planning for the future.

In conclusion, we can say that certain differences do exist between recipients and non-recipients of old age assistance. Some

of these differences such as health, age of marriage, size of family reared, and marital status are factors in causing dependency in old age. Other factors such as carrying life insurance, and years of education may differ in the two groups but these factors do not necessarily give a clue to the cause of the dependency in old age.

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RURAL CHURCHES AND THE WAR*

Judging from the experiences of the First World War and the subsequent reactions, the churches should probably not be expected to serve as agencies of propaganda for the military program. They should not set out to do everything in the name of national defense but should keep before themselves the timeless goals of mankind. Evidently, the work of the churches is to be found through some natural division of labor which is theirs alone.

It may be to the best interests of a nation for the church to maintain a unique position with regard to war in order that it may make its contribution, perhaps not to the fighting but to the preservation of spiritual, cultural and communal values. The church may make that contribution if it can be instrumental in preserving an area of sanity in a war-torn civilization and if it can be a conscience to the state in a time of temptation to aggression, vengeance and exploitation.

Through its appeal to the brotherhood of man, the church may be able to help relieve the tensions of hatred generated by the war. It can foster morale for worthy social living in a time of national crisis. It may assist in setting ethical standards for

social and economic activity, and in educating the public in preparation for peace at the end of the conflict. Thus, the church could conceivably make a unique contribution by working at the task of revitalizing the embattled civilization and democracy for which the nation is fighting.

The rural church will experience some difficulty in its effort to attain these ideals because of the class-structure of organized religion, the hide-bound institutionalism of the church, the divisive sectarianism of denominations and the inbred mentality of rural provincials. It may make a significant contribution if it can overcome these weaknesses within itself, clarify its own philosophy and invest its energies in a service for the whole range of human problems. The situation which is being created by the war suggests the beginnings of an outline for the future rural church program.

1. The greatest need of humanity after this war will be the prevention of a third world war. The churches should join in a vigorous movement now to help provide leadership for the achievement of this objective. The churches can contribute to the future welfare of world society by pressing their effort to become one of the centers of a wide study of world organization for a just and durable peace. Account must be taken of the fact that over 70 per cent of the world's population lives by agriculture.

* Adapted from a paper read before the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, New York City, December 27-29, 1941.

The rural church must do everything possible to require a recognition of the economic and social issues of the rural world involved in a just and durable peace.

2. The rural church must strive to preserve civilization by keeping the cultural and community processes intact and working during the disruptions of war. Migration and economic revolution resulting from this conflict will, in all probability, accelerate the transitions in rural society. Social engineering on a community and neighborhood basis is being forced upon rural institutions, including the church.

3. The church must contribute to a greater unity of the human race, a prime necessity if peace is ever to be permanent. It must have a program for the elimination of hate and for giving motivation to the cooperation of nations. The work of the International Institute of Agriculture, for example, needs the motivation of concern for the common interests of all humanity—particularly for farmers, peasants and village people everywhere—if its research is to materialize in good results in the face of strong nationalisms. The rural church may assist by encouraging a sense of solidarity among rural populations and by giving them the motivations necessary to their struggle for their own welfare.

4. The rural church must help in the relief of suffering around the world. Refugees, prisoners of war, victims of famine, cripples and disease-ridden masses will call for charity on a tremendous international scale before the world returns to normal. Here is a program on which persons of all views may unite.

5. The church must continue to take account of the camp and industrial defense communities and the spiritual needs of the men and families of those under arms and in industry whose lives have been disrupted.

6. The ideals of civil liberty, the Bill of Rights and the discovery of truth through a free science—usually the first casualties of war—are also the concern of the church if it would preserve democracy for the minority as well as for the majority, foe as well as friend.

7. The church must educate the young in the folklore of its own mythology. The ideals of the Sermon on the Mount and of good citizenship are in danger while millions of rural youth are without adequate religious instruction, as is the case in America alone.

8. In the midst of the emergency, the rural church must continue its concern for farmers and villagers whose lives are relatively routine in spite of the war. The "chores" of the comparatively "normal" community and the welfare of the rural civilian are still the major tasks of rural institutions.

9. American churches should prepare to exchange rural specialists with other countries during and following the war. Special missions of rural specialists will be needed here and elsewhere around the world in civilized countries to rehabilitate rural religion and culture. Europe and America, not Africa and the Orient, may be the "dark" continents in this generation. This exchange of rural experts may well become the main spearhead of foreign missions tomorrow.

10. Migration is a great problem in rural communities as farmers and villagers go out to defense industries and the armed services. After the war many of them will, in all probability, migrate back to the rural areas. The rural churches must prepare to cooperate with other rural institutions in dealing with rural mobility.

11. The church must achieve a greater concern for and a more intense interest in the cultural forces with which it works. To do this it must have a sense of sociology. Here is an opportunity for the rural sociologist to help the rural church to share with other rural institutions in a sound social approach. Most of the larger denominations and some theological schools already employ one or more rural sociologists to deal with the problems of churches in country and village communities but it will require the cooperation of the whole profession to meet the issue of making the church effective, along with other rural institutions, in wartime.

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CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Conrad Taeuber

RURAL COMMUNITIES STUDIES

- Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger. *Alabama Rural Communities: A Study of Chilton County*. Vol. XXXIII, No. 1A. 80 pp. Alabama College Bulletin, in cooperation with the Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Montevallo, July 1940.
- Linden S. Dodson, Douglas Ensminger and Robert N. Woodworth. *Rural Community Organization in Washington and Frederick Counties, Maryland*. Univ. of Maryland Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 437. 62 pp. College Park, Oct. 1940.
- Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis. *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: El Cerrito, New Mexico*. 72 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Rural Life Studies: 1. Washington, D. C., Nov. 1941.
- Robert L. McNamara. *Farmers Study Their Communities in Hand County, South Dakota*. 27 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., in cooperation with Hand County Land Use Planning Committee and S. Dak. Agr. Expt. Sta., Rural Soc. Dept., Washington, D. C., Aug. 1941.
- Ralph R. Nichols and John S. Page. *Community and Neighborhood Areas, Lincoln County, Oklahoma*. 22 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr. in cooperation with Okla. Joint Land-Grant College—B.A.E. Committee. Washington, D. C., May 1941.
- Ralph R. Nichols. *Locating Neighborhoods and Communities in Red River Parish, Louisiana*. 30 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr. in cooperation with La. State Extension Service. Louisiana State University, April 1941.
- John B. Holt. *Rural Neighborhoods and Communities of Lee County, Alabama*. 21 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington, D. C., Feb. 1941.
- Harold Hoffsommer and Herbert Pryor. *Neighborhoods and Communities in Covington County, Mississippi*. 31 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington, D. C., July 1941.

The community studies program of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics covers several phases: the delineation of rural communities, the study of organization, stratification and leadership, and the functioning of the community. The presently reviewed studies are largely, if not primarily, concerned with the first phase.

The primary purpose of community delineation studies is to determine those actual and distinct social groupings in space on which the work of government agencies has to be based if it is to proceed on democratic principles. That political units within the counties are quite inadequate for this end is becoming more and more recognized.

The recent studies of the Division deviate from the earlier delineation studies which were developed by Sanderson, Galpin, and their associates. These were based on the service-and-trade-area principle and dealt primarily with interest groups, thus perceiving the rural community largely on the level of purposive association. The new studies, instead of inferring the existence and extent of a social community from the observation of special purpose relations, inquire directly into the group consciousness of the people, trying to ascertain to which neighborhood or community the people themselves "feel that they belong." The technique consists essentially in direct interrogation of suitable informants with subsequent "checking" by inquiry into objective criteria of social affiliations. This technique is simple enough to permit the participation of local residents in delineation work, who then will be more inclined to accept the result than if it was merely the work of outsiders (McNamara, p. 3). The procedure has also the advantage of revealing the complete spatial pattern of solidaric groups without leaving those pockets of "no-man's land" between communities which have been the worry of rural sociologists applying the trade-and-service-area method.

Beyond the immediate practical purpose,

which is well served by these studies, their authors have also made valuable contributions to the general sociology of rural communities. Most important is the insight into the relative significance of "neighborhood" and "community" in the mind of the people themselves which has been obtained by the new technique. Holt finds that in Lee County, Alabama the neighborhoods are social groupings characterized by frequent intimate and personal association while the community is characterized by less intimate, less frequent associations and contacts, generally "in connection with certain matters of public interest" (*Holt, op. cit.*, p. 6). He also finds that in the South the trade area has ceased to coincide with the community. (p. 8). The neighborhood is really the closest social grouping to which people feel loyalty and in which leadership is developed. Consequently, truly representative bodies for a community should include leaders or delegates from every neighborhood—a postulate which has been overlooked in the earlier phases of county planning work (*Holt* p. 11, *McNamara*, p. 21).

Several of the studies are located in the South. Here the delineation both of communities and neighborhoods is complicated because of two factors: the bi-racial composition of the population and the plantation system. Both factors are very well brought out in the study by Nichols on Red River Parish in Louisiana. The bi-racial structure is reflected in the co-existence of distinct white and Negro neighborhoods, while the community affiliations of both elements are likely to be the same. This is confirmed by Hoffsommer and Pryor: "The Negroes use the white community center for the greater part of their trading but are developing their own centers for social, fraternal and religious services." (p. 22). This observation is supported by other studies; it indicates that kinship and religious concord are more important in neighborhoods than in the larger community. The symbiosis of whites and Negroes as separate groups within the same area "leads to a duplication of institutions and organizations" (*Hoffsommer and Pryor*, p. 26.) with inevitable waste, to the disadvantage of the Negroes.

The plantation system is accompanied by numerical predominance of Negroes and by sparsity of white residents in the open country. This pattern prevents the formation of closely integrated neighborhoods among the white inhabitants who tend to be more directly affiliated with the larger communities. In Lee County, Alabama, Holt finds that white neighborhoods "are tending to disappear. Their disappearance seems to be associated with the thinning of the farm population, the consequent dismemberment of the local church, the substitution of automobile pleasure rides and distant visits for the earlier visiting among adjacent homes. It seems to be associated also with the consolidation of the local schools. . ." (p. 5).

The Negroes in plantation areas on the other hand do not seem to form those well integrated neighborhoods found in upland farm regions. (*Nichols*, p. 7). This deviation from the usual pattern is probably due to the fact that the plantation as such serves as a kind of neighborhood for the colored workers, being equipped with a store, a church, and often even a school. (p. 8). The relatively high mobility of plantation workers may also hamper the development of neighborhood solidarity. Another trait of Southern society which tends to hamper neighborhood and community development is the transfer of the plantation pattern of master-servant relations into the structure of rural industrial villages. Mill owners, like planters, are accustomed to provide the services and institutions of the villages. When the economic foundation collapses the community is left "without adequate financial support and with citizens untrained in planning and managing their own community affairs" (*Hoffsommer and Pryor*, p. 13).

From several studies the importance of ethnic homogeneity as basis for neighborhood formation becomes apparent. In this respect the studies by Nichols and Page on Lincoln County, Oklahoma, and by McNamara on Hand County, South Dakota, are especially interesting.

The "community" is generally a "cluster of neighborhoods" which obtain all or most of their public services from one village or

town at which also most of the business is transacted. However, these relations do not seem to be as well defined and as permanent as the neighborhood relations. This observation is not surprising if one considers that the farmers' relations with the villagers and townspeople contain a great deal of potential conflict factors, since they are primarily utilitarian and purposive in character.

The consolidation of schools seems to have greatly contributed to the association of neighborhoods into larger communities. This is interesting in so far as it may indicate a tendency of secular factors to predominate in the larger community while the church seems to retain its position as the main neighborhood institution. This point is well demonstrated by Nichols, p. 14 and *passim*.

However, the rural ministers in the South often fail to participate in community life, owing to the multiplicity of denominations each of which maintains its own churches and clergy so that very few communities can afford a resident minister or even weekly services, although they may have a church for every 200 adult persons. (Hoffsommer and Pryor, p. 18). The same sources indicate that church affiliations continue to be strong and stable.

The perseverance of communities and neighborhoods depends partly on the stability of economic conditions: changes in the size of farms conditioned by technological changes may lead to population changes which initiate changes in the neighborhood and community structure (Hoffsommer and Pryor, *passim*). Highway construction sometimes leads to a shift of neighborhood centers (Nichols and Page, p. 17).

Hoffsommer's and Pryor's study is methodologically important as a test of the simplified "neighborhood-cluster" technique. The areas obtained were compared with trade-and-service-areas. Furthermore, approximately 80 per cent of the open country families were covered by schedules and in one community a practically complete coverage was achieved. The study is also remarkable for the historical approach (p. 30) which permits a classification of neigh-

borhoods and communities by origin and development types (p. 4). A series of maps show the incongruence of service areas and communities and also the changes in the transportation system, the relative stability of old and the appearing of new neighborhood centers.

The maps in studies of this kind could be greatly improved if the main topographic features significant for an understanding of the social structure would be presented. Furthermore, the ideal neighborhood and community map would be one indicating accurately the boundary lines between the land holdings belonging to each neighborhood. This could perhaps be accomplished by use of AAA maps. The present unrealistic curved lines obtained by the "encircling" method would then be replaced by lines reflecting the land division patterns.

Holt gives some observations which go beyond the limitations of a mere delineation study. He points out that, in the *community*, participation in representative meetings tends to be restricted to the leaders of those neighborhoods and farmer classes "which have the highest socio-economic status and prestige." (p. 9). While not democratic, this situation reflects the widely accepted notion that "the right to voice opinion on policy in community matters accrues to a man in proportion to his property holdings in the community." (Holt, p. 9). Entire neighborhoods, especially of the tenant class, are thus often not represented at all.

The study on Rural Community Organization in two Maryland counties by Dodson, Ensminger, and Woodworth, while also concerned with community delineation is essentially an attempt to apprehend and understand those factors which contribute to social integration. Special emphasis is placed on the study of formal organization and institutions: the school, the church and special interest organizations. (p. 107). Community delineation in Washington County was achieved by the trade-and-service-area method (p. 112); neighborhoods were not mapped, but were used as units in the determination of community boundary lines in Frederick County where a direct

approach through interview rather than the trade-and-service-area method was used (pp. 114-115).

One outstanding feature of this study is the computation of approximate population figures for each of the communities. The technique can be applied where reliable maps, showing all dwellings in the area, are available.

One question, though not of great importance in regard to this study, may be raised here because of its general significance: if we are told that "the degree of community organization is determined by the ability of the community to arrive at a consensus" (p. 160) and that "the presence of many special interest groups may or may not contribute to community organization" (p. 160), the doubt arises whether the authors have made a clear conceptual distinction between "organization" and "solidarity." Obviously the people of a community can be very completely organized in special interest organizations and yet be split into antagonistic groups; and, on the other hand, a community deficient in formal organization may be highly solidaric. The reviewer believes that here we are confronted with more than a mere matter of terminology. It seems that there is a tradition in rural sociology to assume that *any* kind of social relationships and association indicates solidarity. The trade-and-service-area method is really based on this assumption. To be fair, the authors of the Maryland study seem to doubt the validity of this assumption and are therefore searching, in the history of each community, for instances of concerted action which would indicate solidarity ("a high degree of organization," p. 160).

To this study may very well be compared the bulletin on Chilton County, Alabama, Douglas Ensminger, the junior author of the Alabama study, being also a co-author of the Maryland study. This is a very appealing, well-written and well illustrated account of neighborhoods and communities in a county in central Alabama.

A series of 18 maps demonstrates the incongruence of political boundaries, service areas of various kinds, and neighborhoods

and communities. The maps also support the contention that the service area method was not suitable for this county (pp. 72-80) and that the "neighborhood-cluster method," although still somewhat arbitrary, furnished definitely more satisfactory results. It seems that the people themselves in referring to the neighborhoods as "communities" express an important sociological difference between the village-hinterland "community" and the "neighborhood": the latter alone is an all-comprising primary group or Community (*Gemeinschaft*) in the specific sense of a social union based on kinship, neighborliness and spiritual/mental affiliations. The study lists tradition (habituation) as the most important neighborhood tie, church next, and kinship third, while the larger so-called community is much more or perhaps essentially determined by *interests* and represents therefore in the mind of rural folk merely a segment of the larger Society (*Gesellschaft*), of the world of business and politics, of special interest groups and imposed institutions. The description of one community (p. 29 *f.*) indicates that the social relations between farmers and villagers are primarily commercial, skillfully nursed by the Kiwanis Club and other organizations of the villagers. The descriptions of the communities give as good an idea of social life in the county as can be expected from such a first survey. They are complemented by some general information on the county, its population and its economic and political conditions. The latter section contains interesting observations on certain peculiarities of local government (pp. 70-71) which can very well be recommended as a model for other community descriptions. There is also an able discussion of leadership in the village centers. Questionable, however, seems the value of the "reasons given, why certain persons became leaders"; an inquiry into the actual mechanisms of leadership selection would be much better than the recording of people opinions. Incidentally, the analysis appears to move in a circle when the fact that a person holds offices in organized groups is given as a reason for his being considered a leader.

The very short section on geography (p. 69) does not come up to the standard of the rest of the study (even the language is faulty—referring to the North-South direction as "vertical" and "up-and-down") and arouses the desire that those who undertake to write on the geography of their county consult some good book on cultural geography before setting out on this task.

The study by Leonard and Loomis of a Spanish-American farm village in New Mexico belongs in a different category. It is one of six studies of rural communities in various parts of the country selected as samples representing various degrees of community stability. It deals with a culturally stable community involved in an almost hopeless struggle against the impact of an economically stronger and technologically superior culture. It is a contribution to the understanding of the peculiar cultural values of what often is regarded as a backward and inefficient people in our midst. Both authors were already well acquainted with Spanish village life in the West and both were in a position to recognize its peculiarities by comparison with various types of Anglo-American rural communities. The strength of this study lies largely in the approach to the empirical object with a clear theoretical perception of the phenomena involved. In addition, this study proves the advantages of the "participant observer" technique over the often-hasty "schedule" method.

El Cerrito is interesting to the sociologist not only as a village, resembling in social structure very closely the old-world villages of truly "community" (Tönnies) type. It is also interesting as a case of transformation of what seems to have been a highly paternalistic settlement of a few large ranchers with their retainers into a democratic and egalitarian community of small farmers. Neither the loss of grazing land nor the consequent necessity of securing additional income by seasonal wage work at distant places have affected this firm group of closely interrelated and highly sociable families. Only the loss of those opportunities of earning complementary income and

the subsequent prolonged absence of young people on government projects seems to have brought about a tendency to more profound changes in attitudes and customs. The reason seems to be that this village is really one large, closely related kinship group, integrated through a system of mutual aid and cooperation which develops out of an age old system of irrigation-farming requiring close cooperation with a minimum of formal organization. The sociometric analysis demonstrates clearly the prevailing importance of "blood-ties" and the existence of sub-groups for mutual aid and collaboration within the village. The structure, the value system and the attitudes of the people are ably described. Well chosen photographs and a plan of the village facilitate the understanding.

Again, one would like to have a topographic map added and also the geographical location of families retained in the sociometric diagrams (which is, of course, difficult to achieve). Finally one would wish that the development of landownership and of the changes in the class structure had been treated more explicitly and systematically.

Together with the other monographs by Loomis and his associates this new line of community studies meets a very essential need, both from the administrative and from the scientific point of view. By penetrating to the social processes of group life among rural people it represents a definite step forward in the understanding of rural society.

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ATTITUDES

A study of farmers' attitudes toward major local agricultural and rural programs¹ is based on the assumption that the attitudes and values of farm people are basic data for the planning and administer-

¹M. Taylor Matthews, and others. *Attitudes of Edgefield County farmers toward farm practices and rural programs*. S. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 339, 39 pp. In cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Clemson, Feb. 1942.

ing of farm programs if team-work between farm people and their agencies is to be most effective. After isolating, measuring, and comparing attitudes of approval-disapproval toward each program among different segments of the farm population, the study seeks an understanding of why the attitudes exist. Possible answers are found in values central to the local culture as well as in the reasons given by farmers for their attitudes. Finally, the study formulates some of the implications certain attitudes may have for planning, presenting, or administering specific programs or proposals. These suggestions generally are restricted to those stages of planning or of action at which indifference or resistance exists or is expected.

Two field men interviewed a representative 10 per cent sample of all farm operators in Edgefield County, South Carolina. Each farmer's attitude toward each of 14 activities or programs was rated on a 5-point scale of approval-disapproval. High reliability of ratings was indicated by a test in which the two interviewers made independent ratings for one-fifth of the cases. Attitude-ratings, as well as reasons given by farmers for their attitudes, were related to tenure, race, size of farm, socio-economic status (Sewell Scale), and neighborhood residence. In general, strong support for federal agricultural programs was found although considerable variation existed among the various programs and in different types of farm situations.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

From a resume of the activities, accomplishments, and blunders of individuals and organizations during World War 1917-18, the bulletin *War came to the Iowa community*² highlights the principles which should help in the successful mobilization of communities during World War II. Survey of the files of the *Des Moines Register* and other historical data reveals that the dec-

laration of war in 1917 led to a rapid crescendo of patriotic ceremonies and services which quickly subsided by summertime. A new high level was reached the following spring. Unorganized, conflicting activity and failure to guide emotional forces to constructive patterns led to waste effort. Integration of work through adequate community representation on local war committees, survey of local leadership and organizations, preparation of plans to minimize slumps in war work, continuation of necessary peacetime programs, harnessing of emotionalism, prevention of jealousies and conflicts in war service, and the necessity of planning and organizing war activities and programs now—these are "musts" in organizing communities so that every person is making a maximum contribution to the war effort with a minimum of wasted effort, time, and money.

FARM LABOR

*The Resident laborer on the sugar cane farm*³ follows a previous bulletin in which the general features of the social organization of the sugar cane plantation were described. The present study discusses the economic and social characteristics of laborers who are regularly attached to the sugar cane farm throughout the year. A third bulletin in the series is to present information concerning seasonal laborers in cane farm operations. Interviews obtained in 1937 from 242 resident laborer families on 100 farms in nine parishes of Louisiana's sugar cane country provide the basic material for this study. The data presented include: The resident laborer family, income of resident laborers, tenure and occupational history, perquisites and credit, social and economic relations to the landlord, housing and home conveniences, and community relations. Statistical tables are used freely through the text. A number of photographs indicate the varying types of housing provided resident laborers.

²C. Arnold Anderson and Bryce Ryan, *War came to the Iowa community*. Iowa Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. P36 (New Series), pp. 217-280. Ames, Jan. 1942.

³Harold Hoffsommer. *The resident laborer on the sugar cane farm*. La. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 334, 50 pp. In cooperation with the U. S. Dept. of Agr. University, Nov. 1941.

LEVELS OF LIVING

Income levels of contract beet workers in Nebraska⁴ are analyzed in a study of 135 families contracting 25 or more acres of beets in Scotts Bluff and Morrill counties, Nebraska, in 1940. Field interviews sought the number and age of workers, acres of beets cultivated and harvested, the income from beet work and that from other sources, value of perquisites furnished by the grower, the progress of the family in acquiring a home, an automobile or truck, and the education of parents and children. The capacity of a family to tend 25 acres of beets was arbitrarily chosen as the basic measure of fitness for "A piece-work wage high enough to provide a thoroughly satisfactory level of living for families that are able to accomplish very little useful work would destroy the industry." The total income of the 135 families studied ranged from \$693.06 to \$2,986.71, averaging \$1,296.08. This includes payment for work in beets and in other crops, WPA, and relief (a very small item) and the value of products and services furnished by the grower. Growers for whom 77.8 per cent of the families worked provided living quarters during two or more months of the year. Some provided land for a garden as well as additional farm products. Fifty of the 135 families owned homes and only three families were without either an automobile or truck. The majority of the children were retarded in their schooling, but those over 16 years of age had had more educational training than their parents.

A study of some contrasts in the levels of living of women engaged in farm, textile mill, and garment plant work⁵ in Mississippi includes two groups of farm-reared women 17-35 years of age: (1) Those who had worked at least 12 months out of the past 2 years in one of the three textile mills or two garment plants selected; (2) all those

⁴Frank Miller. *Income levels of contract beet workers in Nebraska*. Neb. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 335, 23 pp. Lincoln, 1941.

⁵Dorothy Dickens. *Some contrasts in the levels of living of women engaged in farm, textile mill, and garment plant work*. Miss. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 364, 53 pp. State College, Nov., 1941.

who during the past year had resided in the home of a farm operator located within a 10-mile radius of these five plants, provided that they (the women) had assisted in producing one or more farm products for sale. Through personal interviews with 960 women eligible for the study, data were obtained on family composition, income, value of family living, recreation, education, medical care, and net surpluses and deficits. There were wide variations in levels of living in both industrial and farm groups. Families of women in garment plants and of farm women with owner husbands lived in less crowded quarters, had fewer illnesses per member, participated more in social organizations and saved more than did families of textile mill women and families of farm women with non-owner husbands. The majority of women who worked in a garment plant lived in the open country in homes of farm owner husbands and fathers, while most of the textile mill workers lived in mill villages. Failure to meet family living expenses was common in the textile mill and farm non-owner groups. "Farm owner families got along better than non-owner families because more of them obtained extra nonfarm work available in the community. A larger part of the owner group had several cash crops which brought in money all during the year."

POPULATION

A study in rural poverty in Virginia⁶ classified more than one-third of the white and over three-fourths of the Negro farm families in Virginia as in a marginal group, namely, farm families with a gross income of less than \$600 a year exclusive of rent, and nonfarm families with less than \$750 a year. These have a bare subsistence plane of living, both economically and culturally. Major emphasis was placed on size and composition of the marginal group, birth-rate differentials between the marginal group and those of higher standards, the origin of the marginal group, factors con-

⁶W. E. Garnett and Allen D. Edwards. *Virginia's marginal population—a study in rural poverty*. Va. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 335, 166 pp. Blacksburg, July, 1941.

tributing to the marginal status, vertical social mobility and the social cost of a high degree of marginality. Although biological heredity, as well as cultural heredity, is an important factor in the marginal group, the latter has greater influence in preventing the advancement of youth. Besides background factors, including physical setting and historical events, changing social and economic conditions have contributed to the increase of the marginal population. Illiteracy, small property holdings, poor housing, high birth rates, lack of medical care, and absence of other essentials to an adequate standard of living are characteristic of these families.

*After three years: a restudy of the social and economic adjustment of a group of drought migrants*⁷ in Washington is based on interviews with families which had been studied three years earlier. Fifty-seven per cent of a sample of 227 families included in the earlier study were still living in the same areas. The group leaving the areas during the three years operated less land, heads of families were younger and received less help through relief than those remaining. About three times as many of those who remained as of those who migrated had, at the time of the first interview, become identified with social institutions. Almost half of the farmers leaving, owned land when first interviewed. But since most land is purchased on contract by monthly payments approximately equivalent to rent, ownership is not an important factor in stability. There was no consistent relationship between assets at time of arrival and permanence of settlement. Guidance in the investment of resources and instruction in agricultural methods suited to the areas would have helped many in making a more satisfactory adjustment. Sixty-one per cent received public assistance at some time during the 3-year period. Two-thirds (67 per cent) increased their net worth since

arriving in the State. Wages received while working on WPA were often invested in real estate instead of being used to improve the level of living of the family. Most of the settlers were satisfied with their change in location, commenting on the superior school system in Washington, better climate, low tax rates, and low cost of living.

*Volume and characteristics of migration to Arizona, 1930-39*⁸ studies the occupation before and after arrival, place of origin, and location in the State, stability of residence, and effect upon population of the newcomers during the period. "Arizona, together with California, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, played an important role during the decade 1930-39 as a temporary and permanent destination of people moving in search of more favorable economic opportunity."

Through questionnaires distributed in the schools, data were obtained from 13,334 families who had come to Arizona since January first 1930. About one-third of the migrants had previously been engaged in agriculture, principally in Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas: two-thirds were nonagricultural and they had come from cities all over the United States. Over one-half of the newcomers came directly to Arizona from the State in which they were living in 1930. A large proportion planned to settle permanently in Arizona. Lack of suitable employment opportunities caused much of the mobility of the migrants. Migration accounted for about one-half of the population increase of the State between 1930 and 1940, but in that decade population growth and net migration was less than during the two preceding decades.

The statistical supplement explains the methods used in compiling and computing the data.

⁷Paul H. Landis. *After three years: a restudy of the social and economic adjustment of a group of drought migrants*. Ser. in Rur. Population No. 7, Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 407, 36 pp. Pullman, Oct. 1941.

⁸Varden Fuller and E. D. Tetreau. *Volume and characteristics of migration to Arizona, 1930-1939*. Ariz. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 176, pp. 294-327. In cooperation with U. S. Dept. Agr. *Statistical supplement to volume and characteristics of migration to Arizona, 1930-39*. 24 pp. Tucson, 1941.

MISCELLANEOUS

Curriculum Bulletins, edited by Professor Hugh B. Wood,⁹ are intended to help fill the need for study guides, units, bibliographies, pupil evaluation aids, and philosophical materials in social studies, language arts, science, mathematics, and other areas of the elementary and secondary school curriculum. Bulletin 41 is a description of the Social Living Course offered in the tenth grade at the Oregon University High School; Bulletin 42 is a social approach to an American Educational Philosophy.

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⁹Distributed by the University Cooperative Store, Eugene, Oregon.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Nathan L. Whetten and Reed H. Bradford

Good Neighbors: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Seventeen Other Countries. By Hubert Clinton Herring. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. Pp. x + 381.

Pan America. By Carleton Beals. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. Pp. xiv + 545. \$3.00.

Brazil, Land of the Future. By Stefan Zweig. New York: The Viking Press, 1941. Pp. 282. \$3.00.

Central America, Challenge and Opportunity. By Charles Morrow Wilson. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1941. Pp. x + 293. \$3.00.

An endless stream of books about Central and South America, composed mostly of travelogues, is now pouring from North American presses. Let us hope that the peoples of our sister American republics will not form their judgments about us solely on the basis of these volumes. The lands, the peoples, and the cultures of Latin America are deserving of the most careful and scholarly study.

Herring's work is directed chiefly to those who desire to know something about what is to be expected from Latin America as the present world crisis deepens, the extent of Nazi and fascist influence in Latin American countries, and the effectiveness of the

"good neighbor policy." This is somewhat tangential to the professional interests of most rural sociologists. Also the book suffers from the fact that the text often degenerates to the "smart aleck" level. But in spite of the orientation and presentation, the volume is not without value for the members of our group. In the first place it contributes materially to an understanding of the influences of the Spanish and Portuguese cultural heritages in Latin America, lands in which some one hundred million rural Americans reside. One who considers the respective influences of race, geographic environment, and man-made environment or culture has an excellent laboratory in Latin America. In setting the stage for discussing the major topic Herring's book brings out the fundamental similarities of social life brought about in climates ranging from the frigid zones of the high Sierras, the sweltering jungles of the tropics, and the unbroken pampas. This is accomplished among racial types representative of white, black, and red branches of mankind. Although not urged by the author, he has proved a strong case for cultural determinism.

The elements in the cultural heritage, "the long arm of Spain" in Herring's terminology, are five: (1) *dignidad*, not merely

dignity but "a setting of attitudes which go with graded ranks;" (2) the latifundia; (3) "Spain taught . . . the lessons of bad government;" (4) the Catholic Church; and (5) colonial status. The overwhelming influence of the Spanish American family is omitted from the list. Of the five, the dominating influence of the latifundium is stressed most; and for nearly every country there is at least a brief analysis of the social effects of the large-scale agricultural units.

Beal's plea for a well-defined policy for securing sources of supply for basic strategic materials is, or was, well taken. His urging that much of this be done by the development of complementary economic relationships between the Americas, although by no means original with him, is also valid. But few readers of the present day will have the time or the patience to follow through the very involved, often needlessly complicated pages that lead him to his conclusions.

As is to be expected from the title, Zweig's is more of a literary than a scientific effort. The rural sociologist will find in this idyllic venture nothing to rank with the exposition in Roy Nash's *The Conquest of Brazil*, or even Kelsey's *Seven Keys to Brazil*. Such sociological materials as the volume contains are hardly to be given serious attention. For example, in speaking of the speed with which the Brazilian population has absorbed the Italian, German, Slav, Japanese, and Armenian immigrants (pp. 122-123) Zweig is obviously much more "bullish" than is President Gertulio Vargas. Only one whose knowledge of Brazil was limited to a few of the more accessible parts could hold (p. 136) that "the fundamental elements of building its culture are nevertheless imported entirely from Europe." "Criminal types" (p. 141) no longer are important in the pages of sociological literature although through the operation of cultural lags, they continue to fill the pages of fiction and biography.

Wilson's book, although still to be classed in the category of travelogues, has much to recommend it over most writing about Latin America. The journalist author has realized

the primary role of agriculture in Latin American economies; he has not confined himself to the cities, but rather has visited the rural communities; and although presenting the usual cursory treatment of items that appeal to the tourist, he has set aside a substantial portion of the little volume for a brief history and short summary statement relative to the principal agricultural products of the Middle Americas. The student of rural society will gain much more from this volume than from the customary ill-conceived and poorly executed record of a fleeting journey to the capitals of our sister republics of the Americas.

T. LYNN SMITH.

Louisiana State University.

Inside Latin America. By John Gunther. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941. Pp. xi + 498. \$3.50.

The ABC of Latin America. By Frank Henius. Philadelphia: David McKay Company, 1942. Pp. vii + 134. \$1.50.

South America. By J. B. Trend. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. 128. \$1.00.

The Forgotten Village. By Herbert Kline and story by John Steinbeck. New York: The Viking Press, 1941. Pp. 143. \$2.50.

Economic Defense of Latin America. By Percy W. Bidwell. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1941. Pp. 96. \$.50.

These five books are a few of the many that are streaming from the printing presses these days on the general topic of Latin America. It appears as though publishers and writers alike have decided to capitalize on the national concern for hemisphere solidarity.

Inside Latin America is written by one of the world's foremost political reporters, author of the two previous books entitled *Inside Europe* and *Inside Asia*. It is based on a recent trip by the author through all of the 20 Latin American republics (Porto Rico and Trinidad in addition), and attempts "to give a picture of the political situation in each Latin American country, an appraisal of its personalities, and a sur-

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Probably the outstanding contribution of the book is its intimate sketches of prominent personalities in each of these countries. The author managed to visit personally 17 out of the 20 available Latin American presidents, or acting presidents, and to see 18 of the 20 foreign ministers. He writes in an interesting journalistic style and no doubt his book will create a great deal of interest in Latin America on the part of the American people.

The reviewer is somewhat skeptical, however, concerning the enthusiasm with which the book might be received in Latin American countries. The author set for himself an almost impossible task in attempting to interpret adequately, on the basis of a single trip, the life and politics of 20 different countries, each having a separate and distinct political and social background. He, of course, was obliged to choose characters whose points of view it seemed advisable to emphasize. Therefore, many may disagree with his appraisal of the issues involved. The short space of time devoted to gathering the data naturally made it impossible to verify many of the first-hand impressions which such a reporter would receive.

Furthermore, his style of writing, while interesting, shows a tendency to emphasize the spectacular, and may not be too well received by the people whose behavior he attempts to depict. A few of his chapter headings, for example, tend to illustrate this tendency. Chapter 11 dealing with Colombia is entitled "Hail Colombia"; Chapter 12 is called "The High Cost of Venezuela"; and Chapter 17 is tagged "Chile Getting Hot." Obviously such labels are designed to appeal to the American public rather than to present an accurate picture.

The principal contribution of the book in the present crisis will be to arouse the interest of the American public in Inter-American relations.

The ABC of Latin America is merely a compilation of "facts" concerning the various Latin American countries. The data were secured mostly from publications and

information from the State and Commerce Departments of the United States and from the Pan-American Union. Each of the 20 countries forms a separate chapter of the book, and each chapter contains materials on the following topics: physical data, government, population, cities, occupations, and travel.

South America is written by a professor of Spanish in the University of Cambridge and contains 5 chapters entitled as follows: I, Spanish and Portuguese Americans; II, Discovery, Colonization, and Independence; III, Conditions of Life; IV, Literature and the Arts; V, Pan-Americanism. Obviously, this is a wide range of subject matter for such a small book. Chapter III, for example, consists of 30 pages; and in this short space is included a discussion of the social and economic conditions in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Uruguay; together with a concluding treatise on the prospects for the future. The section of this chapter on Mexico receives most attention, consisting of about 6½ pages, of which 3 pages consist of quotations from Stuart Chase, Robert Redfield, and Frank Tannenbaum.

The Forgotten Village is a collection of 136 photographs from the film of the same name, directed by Herbert Kline with a story by John Steinbeck. The general theme depicts the coming of medicine to an isolated mountain village in Mexico. The pictures are excellent and the story is dramatic. The story was written first and then carried for nine months, "on and off the trails of Mexico," searching for a village and a setting which would amply illustrate the narrative. The result is a powerful illustration of the clash of custom, tradition, and isolation with the forces of modern sanitation and education.

Economic Defense of Latin America is number three of a pamphlet series edited by S. Shepard Jones and published by the World Peace Foundation. It is a concise statement of the economic problems involved in western hemisphere defense. The work is divided into five chapters as follows: I, War and the Monroe Doctrine; II, Propaganda and Politics; III, German Economic Penetration; IV, The Weapons of

Economic Defense; V, The Fallacy of Hemisphere Self-Sufficiency.

The author depicts clearly the economic impact of the war on the South American countries and points to some suggested methods of promoting more adequate trade relations. While mostly concerned with intra-hemisphere relations, his concluding chapter emphasizes the necessity of preparing now for a revival of trade on a worldwide scale as soon as the war is over.

One minor error was observed by the reviewer. On page 10 the author states that the six largest Latin American cities are Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, Santiago, Montevideo, and Havana. He apparently overlooked one of the four cities in Latin America having more than a million inhabitants, namely, São Paulo in Brazil.

N. L. WHETTEN.

University of Connecticut.

Training and Recruiting of Personnel in the Rural Social Studies. By Theodore W. Schultz assisted by Lawrence W. Witt.

Washington: American Council on Education, 1941. Pp. 340. \$3.00.

In its more important features this volume is a cooperative study, planned and supervised by an advisory committee of the American Council on Education, financed by the General Education Board, and prepared by the authors with effective help as to materials and criticism supplied by a considerable number of rural social scientists in the land-grant institutions of higher learning, the United States Department of Agriculture, the Civil Service Commission, and several other universities and agencies. In the preface, the chairman of the advisory committee, E. G. Nourse, says of the document that it "represents a more comprehensive and penetrating examination of the widely ramified aspects of the problem of recruiting, training, and maintaining personnel in the rural social science field than has ever before been made available."

The volume consists of eight chapters grouped under three parts, and there are five appendixes, some of them more than usually interesting for this part of a book. The first part deals with the general fea-

tures of recruiting and training rural social science personnel in what is really a summary of findings and recommendations of the entire study. The second part is a detailed presentation of the departmental and institutional organization, financial support, existing personnel resources and the recruitment and training of personnel for agricultural economics and rural sociology in the land-grant colleges and universities. In the third part of the book a somewhat parallel situation is studied with regard to agricultural economics and rural sociology in the Federal Government.

The treatment is candid and factual. In its essential thesis it is merely a substantial elaboration and justification of the widely held hypothesis that while the rural social studies have in the past quarter of a century made impressive strides in every respect they are still far from the stature of full maturity and the degree of recognition and support which their importance deserves. The major emphasis is, as the title implies, upon how quality of personnel, present but particularly future, can be improved upon, and how it can and should be more adequately trained for its task. These are more basic problems than the thoughtful and concerted attention hitherto given to them would seem to indicate. This excellent study should be required reading for all land-grant agricultural college and university presidents, deans, and directors of extension; and it is to be hoped that special effort will be made to have these key administrators become conversant with its contents. Undoubtedly, it will be carefully studied by practically all heads of departments of agricultural economics and rural sociology. It should prove especially valuable to those institutions where a program of graduate instruction is under way in the rural social studies.

WILSON GEE.

University of Virginia.

War as a Social Institution. Edited for the American Historical Association by Jesse D. Clarkson and Thomas C. Cochran. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xvii + 333. \$3.50.

The American Historical Association has recently taken an active interest in contemporary questions of social import. Many historians have turned from the interpretation of the past to the interpretation of the present in terms of the past, and social scientists have been invited to present papers at their meetings. These trends are clearly reflected in the 1939 and 1940 meetings of the Association, the first leading to a publication entitled *The Cultural Approach to History*, edited by Caroline F. Ware (Columbia University Press, 1940), and the second to the present volume. In 1940 the main theme of the annual meeting was "War and Society," and papers directly related to it, written both by historians and by social scientists, were selected for inclusion here. They bear upon the roots of war, the strategy and conduct of war, problems in neutrality, political and economic consequences of war, and the role of America in the current crisis. In addition to Kimball Young's article on the psychology of war, which unfortunately slighted the intergroup situation, and Malinowski's essay on war as viewed in anthropological perspective, which introduce the papers, I personally liked best the analysis in Part II of the role of geography and the railway and of the relationships between the civilian and the military, including a social history of conscription. Sociologists will also be especially interested in many of the papers in Part IV, on War and Society, while all citizens will find pertinent the final section on America and the Present War. Inevitably in a book of this sort, there is insufficient unity and uneven treatment. Though the volume is not likely to excite the social scientist, it has great symbolic significance in the highly desirable rapprochement of history and the social sciences.

MAURICE R. DAVIE.

Yale University.

The Crisis of Our Age. By P. A. Sorokin.
New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1941.
Pp. 338. \$3.50.

The greater part of this book consists of a series of lectures (somewhat revised) de-

livered by the author before the Lowell Institute in Boston early in 1941. Portions of several addresses delivered elsewhere have also been included. The content of the book as a whole is based upon the author's four-volume work, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, reviews of which have appeared in earlier numbers of this journal. Professional sociologists interested in getting acquainted with Sorokin's theories on social change should, of course, consult the original work rather than the present popular version.

Suppose we look at this book from the standpoint of the lay reader for whom it is clearly intended. Such a reader has two questions on his mind that he would like to have answered: (1) what is wrong with the world? (2) what can we do about it? From the extravagant "blurb" on the jacket of the book he is led to believe that Sorokin is one of a "handful" of men who "really understand" what has happened to the world and who knows what to do about it. A glance at the table of contents confirms this belief in the mind of the prospective reader; he sees such titles as "The Diagnosis of the Crisis" and "The Way Out and Beyond." So he buys the book.

Does he get satisfying answers to the two questions that are troubling him? In my judgment he does not. Sorokin's answer to the first question boils down to this: the world is suffering from confusion and conflict because the sensate culture-system that has been dominant during the past four centuries is now disintegrating. And why is it disintegrating? Because it is in the nature of culture-systems to be born, to grow old, and to die. What can we do about it? Nothing! That is the answer Sorokin must give if his "treatment" is to be consistent with his "diagnosis." I do not believe these are the right answers, but let us assume that they are. I would then ask the question: has the author succeeded in making the troubles of our time appreciably more intelligible or more tolerable to the layman than they would have been had he never read this book. My own feeling is that he has not.

CARL S. JOSLYN.
University of Maryland.

The Social Life of a Modern Community.
By W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt.
New Haven: Yale University Press,
1941. Pp. 460.

Deep South—A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class. By Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner and Mary R. Gardner, directed by W. Lloyd Warner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. 558.

The Social Life of a Modern Community, the first of the six volumes of the long awaited Yankee City Series generalizes the results and discusses methods, techniques and the conceptual framework of the most intensive study ever made of a modern American community. Carried on by a large group of cultural anthropologists in the city of Newburyport, a Massachusetts industrial seacoast city of some 17,000 population (53% native Yankee stock), the study is unique in many respects.

The authors claim that the most important aspect of the entire research was the discovery of the "existence of six stratified social classes." Six separate classes upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower and lower-lower are described in great detail in terms of biological, economic, associational, clique, institutional, ethnic and other characteristics. This class hierarchy is not the continuum which American sociologists have so frequently conceptualized and developed scales to measure. Neither is it a set of "ideal types." Each class was "worked out empirically by direct observation." For instance, empirical existence of a division between upper and lower middle class was discovered: the former tended to shun fraternal orders and associations with auxiliaries whereas the latter favored them and avoided or were excluded from the charitable organizations which were used by the upper-middle and upper classes to subordinate the lower classes.

The reviewer is skeptical that such a symmetrical, six-cell hierarchy would walk out of the empirical data as it is alleged to have done, but the authors demonstrate its usefulness as a tool for investigation. The great contribution of the book, and it is truly great, is the demonstration of the im-

portance of informal and formal associations in the maintenance of stratification. Wealth and occupation were insufficient to determine a person's station in life, but "if only his social participation in family, clique, and association were known, he could be placed" by identifying him with others like him.

The groups most important in determining class status were in order, the family, the clique, and the association. After studying the book, readers who desire to know where they would place in the six-fold class hierarchy if they were to move to a Yankee city can do so by listing such things as the books, magazines and newspapers they read, types of houses they live in, possessions, income, occupation, ethnic background, age at marriage, size of family, etc., but unless they were sponsored by the "right" people they would not get into the cliques and associations which guard the class structure for the higher classes.

In readability, the chapters of the book range from those filled with statistics and quite monotonous analysis to the brilliant feature writing contained in "Profiles from Yankee City," which few will be able to lay down. How the upper-upper "Brahmins" can control through the cliques and associations is dramatically portrayed when a member speaks to several key people in the lower-classes to put in motion a move which saved the fair name of the city and elected a new set of officers for the Veterans of All Wars, thus putting a stop to the practice of inviting strip tease artists to help raise funds.

Although the central theme of the study is social stratification, rural sociologists will be interested in the study of expenditures and their social significance, the classification of the various types of formal and informal association, and the rules for interviewing. The reviewer's chief criticism of the book is the seemingly inordinate emphasis placed upon the six-class system. However, if the other five books of the series make as great a contribution as this one, they will be welcomed by all serious students of society.

Deep South, a study of Natchez, a Mississippi town of some 10,000 population, one

half of which are Negro, and the surrounding rural plantation population, two-fifths of which is Negro, was made by anthropologists who had assisted in the Yankee City study. Perhaps the greatest advantage which these investigators had over those who have previously studied the class and caste structure of the Delta civilization was the group nature of the investigation itself. Two married couples, one Negro and the other White, lived in the area of investigation two years, during which time it was possible to establish rapport and distinguish caste and class characteristics more realistically than would have been possible for workers of only one racial group.

The color castes are realistically described, but the reviewer was amazed at the "goodness of fit" of the same six-class hierarchy used in the Yankee City study. For the whites in Deep South the six-cell classification seems to fit even better than it did in Yankee City. Ingenious diagrams describe how the cliques and associations maintain these classes. Typical statements about each of the six classes by each class strengthen the authors' contention that these classes are realities. Thus lower-middle class people claim that they, themselves, are "we poor folk," but that upper-middle class are "People who think they are somebody," and lower-lower class people are "No 'count lot." The means of analyzing cliques, which, it should be emphasized, are all important in determining class structure, are described. Although the reviewer is skeptical of the six-cell class system, the book is a "must" for the non-southern rural sociologist who wants to understand the rural and urban society in the Delta area. Economic and social relationships in the plantation economy are described and recent data on the influence of New Deal programs are included.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS.

Harvard University.

Case Studies of Consumers' Cooperatives.

By Howard Haines Turner. New York:
Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp.
330. \$2.50.

Dr. Turner raises a methodological con-

undrum: How can one seek clues on the future of the cooperative movement in the United States in a study of two atypical cooperatives? The inevitable attitude on the part of the reader is a skeptical one, a continuing judgment as to what conclusions may properly be drawn from such samples. He has investigated cooperative successes at Maynard, Massachusetts and the Central Cooperative Wholesale at Superior, Michigan, serving the "Upper Lake Region" of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The cases are parallel in their origin: in a "class-conscious labor movement" of essentially Finnish immigrants, in their primary group origins, and in their subsequent reluctant, necessary adaptation to the larger community. In these common origins seems to be their strength—the necessity for good purchasing power, their isolated social world, their unique social philosophy.

The main purpose of his study is to discover whether cooperatives really provide American consumers with the advantages suggested for them, and if they are advantageous, will they grow. He established with his case studies, that the consumers do benefit in terms of money saved and experience in a democratic process. Clearly, Dr. Turner points out that efficiency is the basis for the continued existence of the cooperatives and in this sense there is direct competition with private enterprise, and therefore a soiling of hands. One looks in vain among the samples cited for a radical departure in employer-employee relations. Although Moscow could wire the Cooperative Central Exchange for funds in 1929 and arouse feverish debate, the member cooperators expected the manager and clerk of their particular store cooperative to work 84 hours a week.

The middle class, and more accurately those assimilated to our culture, seem to have appropriated the cooperative movement under the aegis of the recent depression. Dr. Turner points out the necessity for a study of this new development. These later cooperators have apparently adopted it either for monetary reward, or as the white hope of the future. The experience of the Finns would indicate that cooperatives

without the dynamic of a common social enthusiasm are doomed to failure. The whole program of cooperative education attempts to preserve these values. While, for those men who see the end of all wars via cooperation, the history of bitter exclusion of all other nationality groups from control of Finnish cooperatives is a hard dose.

The conclusions drawn are sane—surprisingly so if one is alert to the zeal of the author. They are in line with the conclusions of Leonard C. Kercher in *Aspects of Consumers' Cooperation* (See December 1941 issue of RURAL SOCIOLOGY.) Dr. Turner's conclusions are based upon a brief analysis of the factors making for success in the cooperatives he studied and upon the social trends which may or may not make possible the fulfillment of the necessary conditions. Upon these trends, hinges the fate of cooperatives.

LUELLA M. DUWORS.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Cooperation: A Christian Mode of Industry.

By Edgar Schmiedeler. Ozone Park,
New York: Catholic Literary Guild,
1941. Pp. 218. \$1.50.

This little handbook makes excellent reading for those unacquainted with the philosophy and history of cooperatives in Europe and America; those familiar with the field will find nothing startlingly new. The theme is skillfully handled with the result that an old topic is presented in a refreshing manner; one never becomes bored with a conglomeration of statistics or by an overly-aggressive argument designed to overwhelm the unconvinced. The roots of cooperation in rural life, commonly termed mutual aid, urban institutional counterparts, and current governmental agencies are neatly depicted. Brief case studies drawn from various parts of the country are to the point. There are no footnotes, nor a substantive bibliography, nor even an index, but somehow they are not missed in this popular style of writing. The reviewer sees no point in the strictures against capitalism and the existing economy in the opening chapter for

they add nothing to the theme and raise issues irrelevant to the book.

JOHN USEEM.

University of South Dakota.

The Social Organization of the Western Apache. By Grenville Goodwin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xvi + 701.

The Apache Indians, formerly less known to most of us than their namesakes of the Paris slums, have been written up lately in a number of volumes. Most interesting of these to sociologists are Dr. Morris Opler's "An Apache Life-way" and the monograph here under review. The fact that both are published in the Ethnological Series of the University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology shows that there is little or no overlapping between them. They describe different divisions of the Apache, apparently no more alike than Apache and Navaho. Moreover, Opler covered economics and religion as well as social relationships, all in the framework of a life history; while Goodwin confined himself rather strictly to social patterns.

None of the 700 pages in this book is wasted. The nature of the intricate territorial groups is painstakingly worked out. After a historical review, kinship groups are similarly analyzed; then other social relationships. A rather full stock of primitive social customs is presented: matrilineal clans, levirate, sororate, avunculate, cross-cousin marriage, mother-in-law avoidance. But these are not merely put on record for one tribe more. Out of the meticulous detail emerges a picture of Apache life so clear that these museum pieces lose their fantastic look and compose into a way of life as natural as any other.

The author died before the book was quite finished, and it was seen through the press by several of his teachers and associates. The quality of this life work, unfortunately cut short, is illustrated by what at first might appear to be a fault in the book—the lack of a bibliography. Actually the data are almost exclusively based on original inquiry in the field, so that the few references to

other publications can be left quite well to footnotes.

EDWIN G. BURROWS.
University of Connecticut.

From Relief to Social Security. By Grace Abbott. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Pp. viii + 388. \$2.50.

This book is a compilation of addresses, journal articles, and testimony before various Congressional committees of the late Grace Abbott, covering in the main the period of the 1930's. Since it is doubtful if any other professional social worker had comparable influence upon the formation of public policies during the hectic period following the economic collapse of 1929, these assembled papers will carry more than usual interest as documenting a period of supreme importance in the history of public welfare.

Miss Abbott was especially interested in child welfare, and more space is devoted to this theme than to any other. However, she has considerable to say about the "tragedy of transients," general relief, unemployment insurance, and medical care under public auspices. Her discussion of the state and national, versus local responsibility for welfare, and the county versus the community as the unit for local administration, represents sound judgment, and a recognition of the historical factors involved.

The papers have been effectively edited and arranged for publication by Edith Abbott of the University of Chicago, sister of the author.

LOWRY NELSON.

University of Minnesota.

Statistics of Family Composition in Selected Areas of the United States: Volume 1, Detroit, Michigan; Volume 2, Boston, Massachusetts; Volume 3, Buffalo, New York; Volume 4, Chicago, Illinois; Volume 5, New York, New York. Prepared by the Division of Health and Disability Studies of the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the Social Security Board. Washington, D. C.: 1941-1942.

These volumes consist of a series of basic tables on family composition in five cities of

the United States, based on the National Health Survey made in 1935-36 by the United States Public Health Service. In that survey schedules were obtained from a house-to-house canvass of nearly 740,000 households, of which 703,000 were in urban and 37,000 in rural areas. In 1937 these schedules were made available to the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the Social Security Board. With the cooperation of WPA workers, these schedules were studied and tables prepared showing family composition according to size, type, age of members, gainful workers, employment status, occupation, income, housing, race, nativity, and education.

These data are of value to statisticians and research workers in many fields of social science and public administration because they reveal relationships not available from published census data, and are based on a year midway between the 1930 and 1940 censuses, thereby making possible a more exact understanding of changes that occurred during that decade.

Forthcoming volumes will include comparable tables on family composition for the cities of Cleveland, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis, as well as for the aggregate urban and rural samples. Since all of these are primarily source volumes, it may be of interest to know that analytical papers on data of the family composition study for all areas combined are being published in the Social Security Bulletin.

HENRY G. STETLER.
University of Connecticut.

Elementary Education of Adults. By Ruth Kotinsky. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1941. Pp. xii + 205. \$1.50.

The Extension of University Teaching. By James Creese. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1941. Pp. vii + 170. \$1.25.

Education in a Democracy. Edited by Newton Edwards. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. xl + 160.

The Farmer in New Zealand. By G. T. Alley & D. O. W. Hall. Wellington, New

Zealand: The Department of Internal Affairs, 1941. Pp. x + 156. 5 shillings.

Elementary Education of Adults is a volume in the publishers series on the social significance of adult education by Miss Kotinsky, and is a report on the work being done to eradicate functional illiteracy. But the volume is more than a survey. It is also a constructive critique. She does not spare the former limited conception of this area of educational effort, nor the still too common divorce of the reading materials from the experiences of adult life but notes approvingly better methods that have been developed. There are a number of skillfully used anecdotes, including several dealing with rural situations and the contributions made by extension agents.

Mr. Creese's volume, the twenty-seventh in the same series as Miss Kotinsky's, is an excellent description and evaluation of university extension in those areas not dealt with by previous volumes in the series. After giving the general background it deals with extension education for professional groups. There is an interesting chapter on the Universities in the National Defense Program. Since the rural aspects of extension were covered in Russell Lord's *The Agrarian Revival*, there is nothing but general interest for the rural sociologist in this well-written volume.

Education in a Democracy contains eight, somewhat integrated, lectures by the Education Faculty of the University of Chicago delivered during 1940-41 under the Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions. As is always the case in such collections the contributions are of uneven merit. If the volume has any value at all it would be to acquaint laymen with some of the commonplaces of educational thinking and with a few of the straw men some educators are still accustomed to set up to knock down. Most of the authors have done far better work elsewhere than they have in this volume. If the authors have any knowledge of the rural implications of their theme they successfully conceal it.

The Farmer in New Zealand is a meaty, excellently written volume. It is one of thirteen Centennial Survey Studies spon-

sored by the dominion government "to present a comprehensive picture of the national development" in the first century of its history. On the very first pages there is an interesting discussion of the influence of the culture on farm management. The way in which agriculture became also a way of life in New Zealand is sketched against the changing social and economic background. The last chapter, *The Farmer and the World*, is a far ranging thoughtful discussion with several allusions to American sources. The last paragraph is worth quoting:

"In the past the farmer has been the leader in New Zealand society. Today his leadership is more hesitant. World markets have moved against him, and his costs are rising. He is prone to seek a political solution for problems fundamentally economic. In this he has shown the realism that might have been expected of him, for throughout the modern world economic problems are everywhere shaping the policies of states, both internal and external. Yet the real welfare of the farmer is in his own hands."

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER.
Teachers College, Columbia University.

Three Virginia Frontiers. By Thomas P. Abernathy. Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1940. Pp. 95. \$1.50.

Democracy in the Middle West 1840-1940. By Jeannette P. Nichols and J. G. Randall. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1941. Pp. 117. \$1.25.

One of the major benefits derived from the relatively recent attempt made by some historians to explain historical phenomena in terms of one or two fundamental factors has been the flow of constructive criticism that followed. To this category belong the monographs listed above, each of which is concerned with the development of democracy in America.

Doctor Abernathy shows that, if American democracy was the product of the frontier, it developed only after many opposing factors were disposed of. He points out that the early colonists in Virginia constituted a highly stratified society in which the aristocracy was strongly entrenched by

virtue of its wealth, political control and the general acceptance of the then prevailing English institutions and traditions. As the frontier moved westward, first to the Piedmont, later to the Virginia Valley and finally to Kentucky these institutions and traditions persisted largely because the land was never free and because the aristocracy led the way. Democracy did not flourish on the frontier and perhaps this was fortunate since early democratic leaders desired the unobstructed rule of the majority.

Democracy in the Middle West consists of a series of essays covering different periods in the history of the Middle West. The first is entitled "The Advance into the Middle West." The author points out that, while the influence of the frontier was not premeditated, the power exercised by the old, populous and wealthy areas from which the settlers came was planned in advance and had a tremendous effect upon the institutions developed in the Middle West.

The second essay covers the period from 1840 to 1865 and is entitled "Regionalism and Democracy in the Middle West." The reader becomes impressed with the importance of regionalism and the emotional character of the democracy which did exist.

"Contradictory Trends in Middle Western Democracy" continues the history of the Middle West from 1865 to 1900. This was a period of uncertainty during which the Middle West composed as it was of a heterogeneous population, attempted to reconcile individual freedom and common welfare.

The Middle West of the twentieth century is analyzed in the concluding essay entitled "Our Own Middle West." The section is now characterized by its insistence upon governmental control, its class conscious and articulate farmers, and finally its democratic conservatism.

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
The United States Dept. of Agriculture.

Agricultural Finance—Principles and Practice of Farm Credit. By Wm. G. Murray. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1941.

It was not so many years ago when

were heard the first demands for farm relief. The problem of farm relief was a large one and the need for improvements in credit facilities was only one phase of it. There was also the fact of low prices and agricultural surpluses caused by faulty distribution and over-production. But the need for better credit was always present in the minds of farm leaders. Their efforts toward that end are dramatically described in the title of a book by Clara Eliot—"The Farmers' Campaign for Credit."

There have been great improvements since the campaign began. In fact, it can almost be said that the campaign is won and the credit problem of the farmer has been solved. Not perfectly as will be brought out, but sources of credit have been provided for all the farmer's needs.

There have inevitably been many books written since this movement started. Some of these were done when information was inadequate and before changes were made; they are, therefore, out-dated. There has for several years been a need for a text book which was authoritative, up-to-date and readable. Such a book is to be found in the one under present discussion. The author has gathered, summarized and presented material through the whole field of farm finance.

The book is divided, logically enough, into two parts: the first part is concerned with the general principles of farm credit; the second describes existing agencies which lend credit to farmers.

There are several chapters in the first part which are of especial interest to the economist, notably Chapter 5. This chapter describes what the author calls marginal analysis; an application of the well-known concept of the margin to borrowing by farmers. It may very well be that production, short of the optimum, may be caused by using too little credit as well as by borrowing too much. Other useful chapters in this part describe analysis of the balance-sheet and the income statement.

Part two contains a description of currently active lending agencies. The Farm Credit Administration naturally attracts the greatest portion of the author's attention.

But the emergency services, such as the Farm Security Administration, Tenant Purchase Loans, and similar services, are also adequately described.

The book not only describes the credit agencies which comprise the Farm Credit Administration, but it analyzes them as to their strong and weak points. For example, the author says that the original goal of the Federal Farm Loan system has not been reached, namely, to found a nation-wide system of cooperative farm mortgage credit. The trouble lies in the requirement that the stock owned by the members of the National Farm Loan Associations must be used by the members of the Association as security for each other's loans. This makes the National Farm Loan Associations different from other cooperatives.

Another drawback to cooperative success is the requirement that local associations own stock in the Federal Land Bank. The effect of this is to pool profits and losses to the detriment of those associations which are successfully collecting interest and loan payments.

The author levies the same criticism against the Production Credit Associations. He submits as a remedy, the removing of the 5% capital stock requirement and the instituting of a nominal stock membership fee and the collection of an insurance fee of $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% as a guarantee fund to protect the association against losses.

As accomplishments of the Farm Credit Administration are cited the lower interest rates on account of the competition from these cooperatives credit associations and the general improvement in accessibility to the average farmer of credit sources.

MARC C. LEAGER.

North Carolina State College.

The Clarks—An American Phenomenon. By William D. Mangam. New York: The Silver Bow Press, 1941. Pp. x + 258.

"The Clark book is one of the most amazing stories of American economy and life that has ever been written. It is a document on the wages of greed and irresponsible wealth. It is powerful in its stark brevity and conciseness" wrote Charles A. Beard in the Critical Comments at the end of the book (p. 245).

This is the record of the rise and the decline of a family. Although the author was a business agent to one of the sons of the principal character, he wrote, as E. A. Ross pointed out in the introduction, as one "animated by the same determination to find and fix the truth that drives the laboratory investigator." (p. 1.)

William Andrews Clark (1839-1925) migrated to Montana in the sixties a poor man. There he amassed most of his 200 million dollar fortune from the natural resources of the state. Clark believed that the only function of money was to make more money and to buy what he wanted. He wanted to be United States Senator. On the floor of the senate he stated his philosophy as he argued against a bill designed to conserve natural resources, "those who succeed us can well take care of themselves." (p. 80.)

His family was hardly more lasting than his New York City mansion which, although it took six years to build and cost more than seven million, was torn down within two years after his death. The life story of each of the five Clark children is told in chapters two to six, inclusive. The final disintegration of the copper king's financial empire is described in chapter seven, entitled "Finale."

LEO A. HAAK.
University of Tulsa.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Robert A. Polson

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ADDITIONAL NEW MEMBERS FOR 1942

(Supplementary to list in March issue)

Archbold, L. E.	County Agents Office	Decatur, Indiana
Baker, John Newton	Virginia Polytechnic Institute	Blacksburg, Va.
*Bauder, Ward	Cornell University	Ithaca, New York
*Becker, Edwin L.	University of Wisconsin	Madison, Wisc.
*Beetle, Francis		Gladwyn, Penna.
*Blair, George B.	University of Missouri	Columbia, Mo.
Bryant, Grace	Dept. of Social Welfare	Webster City, Iowa
Cyr, Frank W.	Columbia University	New York City
Delap, H. F.		Forrest, Ill.
*deTamble, Forbes R.	University of Florida	Gainesville, Fla.
*Freeman, Mrs. Edith	Cornell University	Ithaca, New York
*Gardner, H. Ruth	1115 University	Columbia, Mo.
Gist, Russell H.	Oglebay Hall	Morgantown, W. Va.
Goss, Rev. Cecil A.	P. O. 46	Westervelt, Ill.
Hanna, Rev. C. Morton	109 East Broadway	Louisville, Ky.
*Hatch, Raymond	State College of Washington	Pullman, Wash.
Heberle, Rudolf	Louisiana State University	University, La.
Hess, Walter L.		Slippery Rock, Pa.
Hester, Harriet H.	1230 Washington Blvd.	Chicago, Ill.
Hodgdon, Evelyn R.	State Normal School	Oneonta, N. Y.
Hudgens, R. W.	414 Cummings Lane	Chevy Chase, Md.
King, Joe J.	U.S.D.A., F.S.A.	Portland, Ore.
*Lionberger, Herbert F.	Mumford Hall	Columbia, Mo.
McNeely, John G.	BAE, Donaghey Building	Little Rock, Ark.
Ogle, Lilia C.	FSA, Corner 8th and Walnut	Cincinnati, Ohio
O'Hara, Warren	County Agent	Greenfield, Ind.
*Reeder, Jesse	Warren Hall	Ithaca, New York
Rogers, Helene H.	Illinois State Library	Springfield, Ill.
Smith, Russell	205 Locust Lane	Alexandria, Va.
Sower, Christopher	Federal Building	Chillicothe, Ohio
*Tellis, Claude E.	63 East 11th Ave.	Columbus, Ohio
Weiss, John N.	University of Illinois	Urbana, Ill.
*Whiteside, Annabel	231 Mumford Hall	Columbia, Mo.
*Zaki, A. H. (Rejoining)	Scotland Hill Road	Spring Valley, N. Y.
Zerbe, J. W.		Williamsburg, Iowa

* Student.

UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT: Nathan L. Whetten of the Agricultural Experiment Station, has been given leave of absence to accept a year's appointment with the U. S. Department of State for study and advisory services in Mexico. His headquarters will be in Mexico City and he may be reached through the United States embassy. He left for Mexico in May.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., are publishing a new textbook, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, by Dwight Sanderson, which will be released by late summer.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS: The Illinois Rural Education Committee, first organized by John A. Wieland, Superintendent of Public Instruction, in the spring of 1939, has been instrumental in promoting rural school improvement. Encouragement for the organization of the committee's program came from (1) the Community Relations Seminar, a discussion group made up of representatives from approximately 60 statewide organizations and agencies, and (2) the National Committee on Rural Education affiliated with the American Country Life Association.

At its quarterly meetings the committee considers certain phases of school reorganization in Illinois rural districts. Sub-committees have reported on desirable school district reorganization, transportation, teacher curriculum and supervision, school buildings and sites, the school and its community outreach, lunch projects in rural schools, textbook supplies and libraries, rural schools and the defense program, and desirable rural school legislation.

The committee has been instrumental in stimulating greater statewide interest in rural school improvement, in developing closer relations and better understanding between the statewide organizations and agencies which are interested in rural schools, taking the initiative in making detailed studies of school problems as a basis for recommended improvements, and encouraging representatives of organizations interested in legislation to agree upon which

legislation is most desirable for rural schools, before it is introduced into the legislature.

Illinois has lost one of her great educators and outstanding community leaders in the death of Dr. R. E. Hieronymus. He died December 18, 1941 at the age of 79. At one time he was president of Eureka College. For twenty-seven years he was a member of the faculty at the University of Illinois, previous to his retirement in 1932. He was a pioneer in the extension service of the Agricultural College and retired as community advisor emeritus. His definition of a community is well-known and widely quoted: "A community consists rather of a group or company of people living fairly close together in a more or less compact, contiguous territory, who are coming to act together in the chief concerns of life." D. E. Lindstrom writes, "It has been said of Dr. Hieronymus that he knew more influential people in the state of Illinois than any other man in the state. Illinois and the Nation have lost one of their most unique leaders of community organization. . . ."

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY: Professor T. Lynn Smith, Head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology, has accepted a one-year appointment with the U. S. State Department as Rural Sociologist to Brazil. He is attached to the United States Embassy in Rio de Janeiro. During his leave of absence from the University, Professor E. H. Lott will serve as Head of the Department of Sociology and Professor Harold Hoffsommer will serve as Head of the Department of Rural Sociology.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC RURAL LIFE ASSOCIATION: Plans have been made for four Rural Life Schools to be sponsored by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference during the summer of 1942.

The school at Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, June 7-12, will concern itself with rural problems of the deep South and the part the rural priest can play in improving conditions. It will be under the direction of the

Reverend Hubert Lerschen, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Rayne, La.

Problems of rural life in the midwestern plains States will be taken up at the school in Atchison, Kansas, June 21-26, under the direction of the Reverend Gilbert Wolters, O.S.B., of St. Benedict's College.

The St. Louis school, directed by the Reverend Aloysius H. Scheller, S. J., Director of the School of Social Work at St. Louis University, will consider rural problems from the point of view of social charity, welfare agencies and youth guidance. It will be held July 12-17.

St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, scene of the fourth school, has been host to rural life schools in two previous summers. The Reverend Martin Schirber, O.S.B. will take charge of the sessions there.

The schools are expected to develop among the clergy, the quality of leadership which will be vital in the period of postwar reconstruction.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION: The 1942 National Education Association Convention will be held in Denver, Colorado, June 27 to July 2.

N. C. STATE COLLEGE: Dr. Carle C. Zimmerman, on leave from Harvard University, and now with the U. S. Army, has been awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Science at the Graduation Exercises in Raleigh on May 9.

Selz C. Mayo, Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology, received his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina on June 9. His dissertation is entitled "Rural Poverty and Relief in the Southeast, 1933-1935."

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA: Sloan R. Wayland, research assistant, has been appointed assistant camp manager to one of a number of mobile migratory labor camps recently established by the Farm Security Administration. He will be located near Wilmington, N. C.

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY: The Southern Sociological Society met in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 2-4, 1942, with

headquarters at the Reed House. There were section programs on population, public welfare and social work, teaching of sociology, social research, recreation, defense and readjustment. Professor Dwight Sanderson, President of the American Sociological Society, and G. Ott Romney, director of recreation program, Works Projects Administration, delivered addresses at the evening session on Friday. Professor Sanderson spoke on "Community Organization for War and for Peace." The membership totalled 265 and there were 150 registrations at the meeting.

The newly elected officers for 1942-43 are as follows:

President, Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.; First Vice-President, Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.; Second Vice-President: Arthur E. Fink, Federal Security Agency, Birmingham, Ala.; Secretary-Treasurer, Coyle E. Moore, Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla.; Representative on Executive Committee of American Sociological Society, E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; Members of the Executive Committee (Three year terms): W. L. Leap, American Red Cross, Richmond, Va.; Frank D. Alexander, National Resources Planning Board, Atlanta, Ga.

TRAINING FOR THE RURAL PASTOR: The Conference on Relations between Colleges of Agriculture and Theological Seminaries, has held five meetings over the past two years to consider the problem of better agricultural training for rural pastors. One of the recommendations relates to the giving of a pre-theological major in Colleges of Agriculture. Courses recommended for such a major includes at least one basic course (three semester hours) in agricultural economics, economics, philosophy, public speaking, psychology, rural sociology, and sociology; three—and preferably four—courses in English literature and composition; and one—and preferably two—courses in history or government. In addition, the student would fulfill the minimum requirements of the College of Agriculture, which would include science (preferably chemistry and

biology); electives should include education and foreign language.

Dean Chris L. Christensen, head of committee of college representatives, polled the colleges of agriculture and found that 16 colleges were prepared to give, and would list, the pre-theological major in their catalogs; five gave approval but indicated they must except philosophy; and 12 indicated they were interested. Dr. Murray A. Leiffer of Garrett Biblical Institute polled the theological seminaries and reported that 43 seminaries would accept students having the major; 33 would carry notice of this fact in their catalogs; and 7 would accept such students on condition that certain work be made up after entrance; and 5 were unable to cooperate.

The conference in its five meetings drew representatives from 22 theological seminaries in 12 states, 13 colleges of agriculture and other schools from as many states, and 20 state and national organizations and agencies. Other problems raised by the conference were (1) on graduate training in agriculture for seminary graduates; (2) extension service for rural church workers; (3) pastors' short courses; (4) financing the rural church; and (5) discussion materials for rural church leaders. The work of the conference is not complete; at the last conference, it was unanimously voted to have another either in the Midwest or in the East.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL WELFARE: Dr. Carl C. Taylor, Head, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, has gone to Buenos Aires, Argentina, for a year's stay on a special study for the State Department. Working closely with the Agricultural Attaché, he will devote major attention to the social organization of agriculture in Argentina, settlement patterns, population trends, standards and levels of living, rural-urban relationships, agricultural reform movements, and also

opinions and attitudes of agricultural leaders on questions of Inter-American relationships. Dr. Conrad Taeuber will serve as acting head of the division while Dr. Taylor is away.

With the completion of 15 years of publication on January 1942, *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities* announces the discontinuance of its regular publication. This will come as a distinct loss to its many and widespread readers who found it to be an admirable supplement to *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*. In the words of Dr. Carl C. Taylor, Chief of the Division, "It is not easy to reach this decision, but if we are to make our contribution to the war effort, we must direct our energies fully in that direction."

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, EXTENSION SERVICE: Miss Ella Gardner, recreation specialist for the Extension Service, U.S.D.A., died suddenly on Sunday, March 29. Miss Gardner was ill for only a few hours, death resulting from a cerebral hemorrhage. Miss Gardner had been a member of the Federal Extension staff since July 1935. Previous to that time for 10 years she served as recreation specialist in the United States Children's Bureau, engaging even then in many cooperative undertakings with the Extension Service, particularly in the development of recreational leaders. During recent months Miss Gardner cooperated very actively with the Children's Bureau and the Office of Civilian Defense in preparation of two bulletins—one dealing with the care of children during wartime and the other concerned with the protection of women and girls from the effects of the strenuous work which the war imposes on farm families. A native of Washington, D. C., Miss Gardner was graduated from George Washington University, and took advanced work at Columbia University, New York City. All who knew Miss Gardner realize that her passing will be a distinct loss to the Extension Service.

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